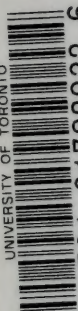


THE ISLANDERS OF THE PACIFIC

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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MR. ST. JOHNSTON

THE ISLANDERS
OF THE PACIFIC

OR THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN

A NATURALIST ON LAKE VICTORIA

**With an Account of Sleeping Sickness
and the Tse-Tse Fly**

By G. D. HALE CARPENTER,
M.B.E., D.M., B.Ch. Oxon.

*Uganda Medical Service, Fellow of the Linnean,
Entomological and Zoological Societies of London*

**With 2 Coloured Plates, Charts,
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The author was asked by the Tropical Diseases Committee of the Royal Society to investigate the life of the Tse-Tse Fly, which at the beginning of the twentieth century was causing great mortality from Sleeping Sickness in Uganda.

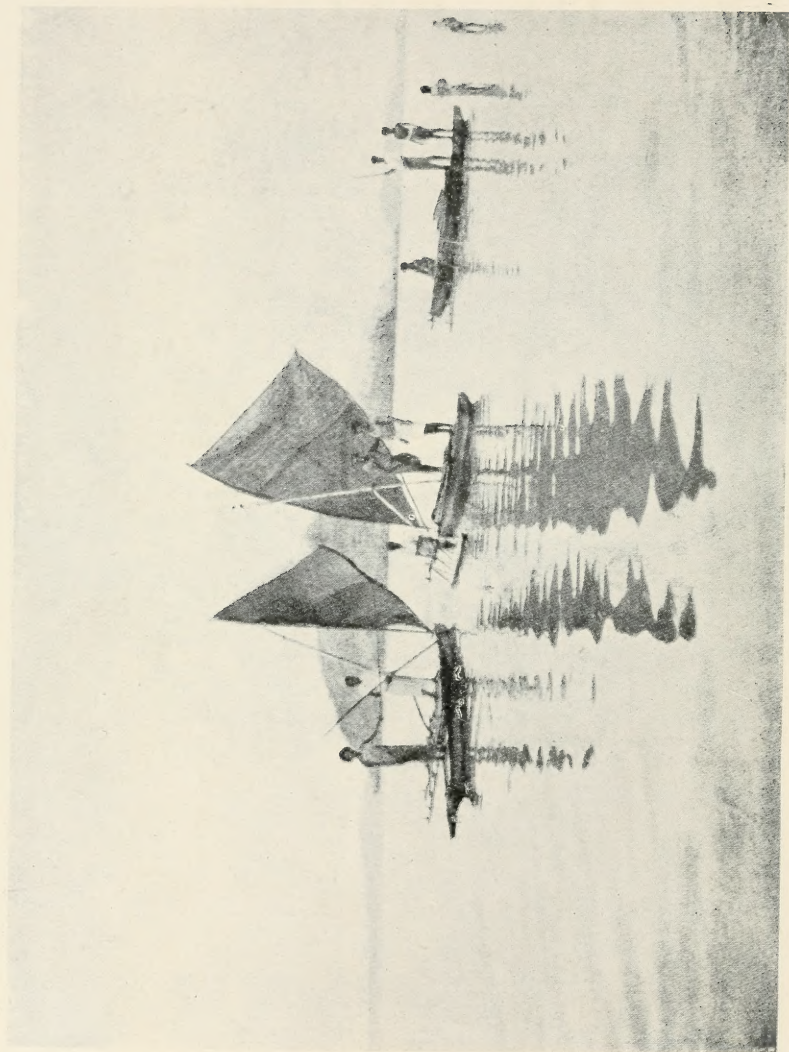
The work contains thirteen chapters, of which the first two give an account of the development of our knowledge of Sleeping Sickness, its history, natural history, and symptoms. Then comes an account of some of the results of forty months' intensive study of the Tse-Tse Fly on the shores and uninhabited islands of Lake Victoria, the second largest lake in the world. A new method of attacking the fly is described. A chapter is devoted to a general account of the scenery, climate, and life on the lake, with a graphic description of one of the typical early morning thunderstorms. In the next chapter the peculiar Sesse canoe is described, and a long voyage to the southernmost isle is narrated: following this is a detailed comparison of the faunal characteristics of a chain of islands lying parallel to the north shore, and many interesting differences and insular peculiarities are noted.

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ISLAND CANOES.

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THE ISLANDERS OF THE PACIFIC

Or THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN · *by*

LIEUT.-COLONEL T. R. ST.-JOHNSTON

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WITH MAPS AND 32
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PREFACE

By unwritten law a preface should consist of apologies, so I shall therefore at least be in the fashion. But, I think, it is seldom an author has to apologize for his Greek accents or his spelling mistakes. For the former, on a few words in Chapter XVI, I candidly confess—if they are wrong, and I should be astonished if they are correct—that my Greek has grown rusty since the days when I wrestled with Xenophon, and I am far from the land of dictionaries. For the latter I can but say that distance has likewise intervened to withhold from me the correction of “proofs,” and the spelling of Polynesian words will defy any usual proof-reader, learned though he may be.

There is another matter. While striving always to confine myself to my own experiences and my own observations and notes, I have yet found it unavoidable in a book of this sort to make reference at times to the works of other authors who have preceded me in the same field, especially when dealing with the early days in the Pacific. Wherever possible I have made due acknowledgment, and should any have by chance been omitted I would here crave forgiveness for the same. And this also applies to the use of photographs for illustrations. In any case, if I have

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used a strange fact or incident recorded by a previous investigator, I have generally attempted to fit a solution of my own to the problem, and after all it is the solving of the riddle that is important. The solution may not always have been correct, but at all events it may suggest a new train of thought to others, more competent than myself, to work at. I remember once hearing an eminent scientist, in rising to speak on a paper that had just been read by one of our coming men, say: "This paper has the great merit of being 'suggestive'." And the lecturer told me afterwards that he felt that this was praise indeed.

I have tried to work out answers to the natives' problems *from the natives' point of view*; to put myself for a moment in their place, to think with their mind, and I feel that my long years of residence among them, in some degree, enables me to do this. To have to attack a native problem, shackled by the convention of our own way of thinking, is a great handicap, of which I have tried whenever possible to divest myself. I may not always have succeeded—many of my answers are no doubt wrong—but we are none of us infallible, and least of all do I consider myself so, for ethnology to me is only a hobby.

But if my scientific methods do not always follow in the beaten path, my interest in the natives is a very real one, perhaps because they appeal to the child that is present in all of us. They are the "Peter Pans" of humanity, and if in governing them we remember this great will be our ultimate reward.

T. R. ST.-J.

ANTIGUA,
BRITISH WEST INDIES.

INTRODUCTION

To many of us the Pacific conjures up visions of sun-flecked coral islands set in an azure sea, of cloudless skies and scented, off-shore breezes ; or perhaps of warm, tropic nights with some shadowy palm-tree (" that giraffe of vegetables " as Stevenson called it) fantastically bowing to the great silver moon, while the distant drum-taps of some village dance, now quick, now slow, come rhythmically floating across the lagoon. To all who have once been swayed by the intoxicating charm of the Pacific there is a memory never to be forgotten, a voice whose seductive call appeals to all alike. To some the magic of it rises even in the years long after, and draws them irresistibly back. I have known the rough trader, who has made enough to live on, at last board with relief a steamer for " home," a country where " a white man can live ; away from these d——d natives, the heat, and the flies." But he has been back again within twelve months. I have seen the ex-civil servant, who had looked forward through all his service to the time when he could retire on his pension to England, come down the gangway of the incoming steamer with a little apologetic smile, " Just to visit the islands once more " ; but his visit has ended in buying a bungalow, a few acres of ground, and a place in the sun !

This is the Pacific as we know it, the Pacific as it appeals to the white man. But there is another Pacific, of the time before the white man set foot in it, a closed-in ocean over which the brooding solitude of untold centuries hung like a cloud. There were men living in that world then, men of a mysterious past and origin that has only in recent years been more than guessed at—and the manner of their lives and the race from whom they sprung I have made a small attempt in this book to disclose. It is only a small attempt, and I am only one of many who have been striving to the same end. The whole subject is so vast that if in these pages I shall at least have given some new ideas, hinted at some fresh possibilities, thrown a new light, however small, on an old subject, I shall feel that my object has been well attained. For without the impetus of suggestion, without the loosening of discussion, the sum of human knowledge would remain at a standstill. Some of my theories will not be acceptable to all—new theories never have been, or they would not be new—but I would remind those who disagree with what I have written that nothing is easier than a destructive criticism, nothing harder than to construct a system which is feasible, rational, and acceptable to all. But on the whole I do not feel guilty of overturning any main principles.

Above all, I have endeavoured to avoid the stilted dogmatism, the dry-as-dust phraseology, the microscopic inquiries of the narrow pedant. The Pacific, taken as a whole, calls for a wide outlook and broad treatment; taken in detail it is apt to overwhelm the investigator. Though it must never be forgotten

that without the patient investigator of small side-issues the broader treatment would be impossible. This book does not pretend to be more than a popular treatise—"Ethnology from an Easy Chair," if you will—and dealing, for the first time, I believe, with the Pacific as a whole ; and as such I give it for what it is worth.

In it at least will be found some of my own experiences, and in some of the islands as I have found them. And these may be new to the general reader ; though there are very few islands now that some white man or other has not explored. I remember an amusing story told me by Sir Fielding Clarke, late Chief Justice of Jamaica, who once held a similar post in the Western Pacific. It appears that a certain captain in the Navy, of a scientific turn of mind, was cruising through those waters, and came upon a small island which was named, but entered up as " ? uninhabited." As they dropped anchor they spied a native in a canoe fishing in the harbour, and some houses peeping from among the trees. " Now," said the captain to his officers, " no one is to go ashore till I do. Here are some new natives not yet recorded, and I hope to be able to get some interesting impressions." The canoe crept alongside, and the native called out in broken English : " What feller ship that ? " The captain was disappointed to think that the people must have met whites before, but cheered up at the suggestion that anyhow they would still be very useful scientific material, fresh, and practically uncontaminated by " civilization." So he called out over the side : " This is a man-of-war. Come aboard." The simple native

gave a start, called back over his shoulder, "No b——y fear," and paddled hastily away!

Yes. I fear the islands have all been "discovered" now, and soon it will be too late to observe the native customs in their original state. The missionary has much to answer for, and such vandalism as the following is unforgivable, because so unnecessary. "The appearance of the females" (says the Rev. Wm. Ellis, speaking of some new converts who had adopted the ideas—and raiment—of "civilization"), "was equally interesting; most of them wore *a neat and tasteful bonnet!*"

They smashed the carved stone images to powder, and burned the wooden ones. A few of the stone ones escaped, such as those heard of years afterwards used as seats in the church at Raivaivai Island (Austral Group). (Are they still there, one wonders?) But when we think things over, the missionaries were not entirely to blame. They felt it necessary to remove all danger of the natives reverting to heathenism (their old religion had decayed and degenerated so much that it was high time a newer and better one made its appearance), and a reversion to heathenism, looked at from every point of view, would have been disastrous. That the views of the missionaries were narrow, and their methods crude, was not so much their fault as that of the period they lived in. Had any other set of white men—government officials, planters, what you will—of that ugly Victorian period controlled the natives they would probably also have dressed them in "neat and tasteful bonnets," and taught them to curtsy!

But the bonnets were only a passing phase. The customs of their forbears were too strong for such innovations. From a scientific point of view, if not from any other, we can be thankful for that rigid law of "custom" in the Pacific that has kept so many of the ancient habits and rites of the people untouched, or at least recognizable, after so many years of contact with the whites. Because of this we are able still to pick up the clues that, added together, have helped us in reconstructing the picture of the Pacific as it used to be, in ascertaining the history of that particular civilization, a history which, if for nothing else, is valuable because in some small way it helps us to understand the history of the civilization of the world.

And the history of the Pacific, and especially of the Polynesians, shows us a people who have degenerated from a noble race in the past, *and who may be regenerated again*, for it is in our hands to do so. There is nothing more harmful, nothing more weak and criminal, than the canting cry: "The Pacific Islanders are dying out; what is the use of bothering?" *They need not die out.* There used to be a vast population in all the island groups. There is no disputing it. Then the inevitable happened. Over-population and shortage of food (for they have never been a provident race, and have always planted food with no thought for the morrow, and with methods of agriculture wasteful to a degree). Then, in Micronesia, for instance, infanticide was a law of the land. Then, infanticide was a custom.

Moreover, at first they were a peaceful nation. Then, sometimes due to this overcrowding, sometimes

to other reasons, they became a war-like one ; Mariner shows how wars started in Tonga. Killing was the order of the day. The tide of national decrease had well set in.

Then came the white man, and another inevitable result. Measles, whooping-cough, all sorts of trivial complaints, attacked them with fatal violence, as worn-out diseases striking new soil will always do. And the decrease went on more rapidly than ever, though the wars were stopped.

But now the reaction has come. The " foreign " diseases are beginning to become worn-out diseases with the natives too ; and, moreover, the foreigners' doctors and hospitals, and hygiene are stretching out helping hands, and there is no reason now why the natives should not steadily increase, as they have been doing for the last decade in the well-governed colony of Fiji, of which I am now thinking. That the recent epidemic of influenza has undone much of the good work is regrettable, but not unexpected. It played just as much havoc, if not more, in Europe, and proves nothing.

No, *if the natives are given their chance* they can increase, and can be made good and useful citizens—an asset to the Empire—and the matter lies in our hands.

Some one, I think it was Sir Basil Thomson, has pointed out that there is no reason why a mixture of English and Polynesian should not produce a good stamp of man. I uphold this in every particular. The half-caste boat builder, mechanic, carpenter, is already the backbone of the artizan class in Fiji. He

has the brains, the skill, and the strength. He is lacking only in initiative, in will power, in energy. Give him the education, the impetus, the incentive, and he will prove a power in the land, a fitting one to carry on the evolution of the colony.

Thinking of Fiji has made my pen diverge into this channel, but what I have said of Fiji applies to the whole Pacific. And the pages of this book will, I trust, explain why a mixture of Polynesian and European—be he Englishman, Frenchman, American—should produce a better stamp of man than a mixture of white man and African negro, or white man and Chinese. *Because the Polynesian and the European had in the remote ages of the past one common ancestry, a kinship of common blood*; slight, it is true, and dating from the days of Sun-worship in England, but still faintly discernible in certain little ways. And as to how this came about I will now endeavour to show.

T. R. ST.-JOHNSTON.



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The Islanders of the Pacific

CHAPTER I

AN OUTLINE OF MIGRATIONS, NATIVE AND WHITE, INTO THE PACIFIC

EVERY traveller in the Pacific, whether on the beaten routes of the mail-steamers or on the wandering byways of the private yacht, cannot but notice the contrasting types of the islanders he meets, as his ship calls at each of the palm-clad reef-encircled groups set like a string of jewels in that warm tropic sea. Island after island is the same, a faint shimmering haze on the horizon, clearing to a line of black dots with tufted palms against the sky-line, and then merging into a solid mass of cool green with white beaches and scattered houses ; with finally the rattling of the hawser as the ship glides to her resting-place in the deep blue waters. But how different are the dwellers on the shores, how different the faces that greet you. Should you be journeying from West to East you find, with certain exceptions, the little dark negroid men, sullen and unapproachable ; then the taller and less dark men, who will show a higher degree of intelligence, and finally the tall handsome Polynesians, a

race of chiefs, fair of countenance and frank in mien, who are among the most hospitable nations in the world. No question of climate, no consideration of fertility of soil in islands such as these, which are practically the same, can be held to account for such striking differences, and the origin of these different peoples has been one of the puzzles of the scientific world since the white man first burst into the confines of the Pacific. I use the word "burst" here as the natives use it, for with their poetical ideas they—so some philologists say—have coined a word for the white man, "Papalangi,"¹ or those who burst through or tread down the sky at the far horizon. It will not be out of place here to mention what traces from myth and legend remain to us of the early appearances of the white man into this closed-in world. Bancroft's dictum might well be quoted: "It is now a recognized principle in philosophy that no religious belief, however crude, nor any historical traditions, however absurd, can be held by the majority of a people for any considerable time as true, without having in the beginning some foundation in fact." But we can go further than this in the Pacific, for the oral traditions of the natives are wonderfully full and complete—as they should be when the memorizing of them was a science (nay, more, a part of an intricate system of religion taught by the priests)—and have been found, by tests which will be described in a later chapter, to be extraordinarily accurate, even when

¹ I regard the alternative explanation, given by some people, that the word was a corruption of "Far, far land" which the early whites told the natives they came from, as childish.

carried back for many generations. There is, by the way, a beautifully carved and polished Maori staff, decorated with symbolic devices, now in the British Museum. This staff was associated with the science of genealogies, and used by the priests in connection with the study of this subject, each protuberance upon it having a special significance.

Now, Fornander, the famous ethnologist and judge of Hawaii, who lived for nearly half a century among the natives, and married a Hawaiian princess, carefully studied these traditions and genealogies, and testing them one against another (as the Polynesian Society of New Zealand are now doing), and working backwards along the known pedigrees he found fairly conclusive evidence that about the twelfth century a ship, with whites on it, arrived at Oahu Island; and this is probably the same ship in which, in another "national historical legend of Hawaii," Paumahua of Oahu "brought back two white gods or priests." Such an unusual event naturally burned itself deep into the memories of these people, and the shadowy tradition of it has been preserved in the priest-lore through all these generations.

Now whence came these two mysterious white "gods," too early for adventurous Spaniards? From the West, North, or East? There was another legend of the Hawaiians that their well-known deity "Lono" was a white god who had left them, but with a promise to return again in a big ship; and when Captain Cook came—the first white man for many generations—in a big ship, such as they had lost all ideas of, they regarded him with awe as this "Lono" returned

again to them. (In just the same way in North America there were faint memories of whites who promised "some day to return"; and these are thought to have been early Vikings.)

In later, more historical, times a white man and a woman were saved from the wreckage of a big ship, and the probable period of this, by genealogical reckoning, is estimated to be about the sixteenth century; which corresponds to the records that, I believe, have been unearthed in Spain to show that one of the squadron of Saavedra, the Spanish commander, was wrecked and lost in the Northern Pacific about that time.

Then Captain Cook, when he first called at Hawaii to "discover" it for the civilized world, found a broken half of a metal sword preserved as a great treasure by one of the chiefs. This, among a nation who knew not metal, was a remarkable discovery. (By-the-way, an illustration in this book shows a wooden sword of Melanesia that might have been modelled on the lines of a Roman sword; and the well-known wooden "sword-clubs" of Samoa are of much the same pattern. The native immigrants to the Pacific are generally thought to have left Asia about the late Roman period, but I think the pattern is probably only a coincidence.)

Finally, there is the extraordinary puzzle of the famous Hawaiian helmets. These, made of the sacred red feathers closely sewn on to a network covering, superimposed on a basket-work frame, are very like the peculiar shape of an ancient Græco-Roman helmet, which again was somewhat copied by the Spaniards



ROMAN-SHAPED WOODEN SWORD, CARVED WOODEN FOOD BOWLS, SACRED ALLIGATOR SKULL, AND TWO MAGIC STONES FROM THE SOLOMON ISLANDS.

(Photo by Author, by permission of the Melanesian Mission.)



of the Middle Ages. It has, however, been pointed out that had there been any close association with the Spanish voyagers there would surely have been found traces, in these long-memored Hawaiians, of legends of the Virgin Mary or the Cross in connection with these white men, as the early Spaniards made a special point of implanting their religion on the South Sea peoples. But of this there is not the slightest trace. On the other hand, though the Hawaiians had no metal, *they had a name for it*; while the helmets of this mysterious Asiatic-sprung race have an even more striking likeness to the head-dresses of the ancient Tibetan priests! This was, I believe, first pointed out by Newman, and there is a remarkable pair of illustrations, showing this resemblance, in his book. Sir Hercules Read believes that they were intended to represent a peculiar type of coiffure. Probably the matter will never be satisfactorily settled.

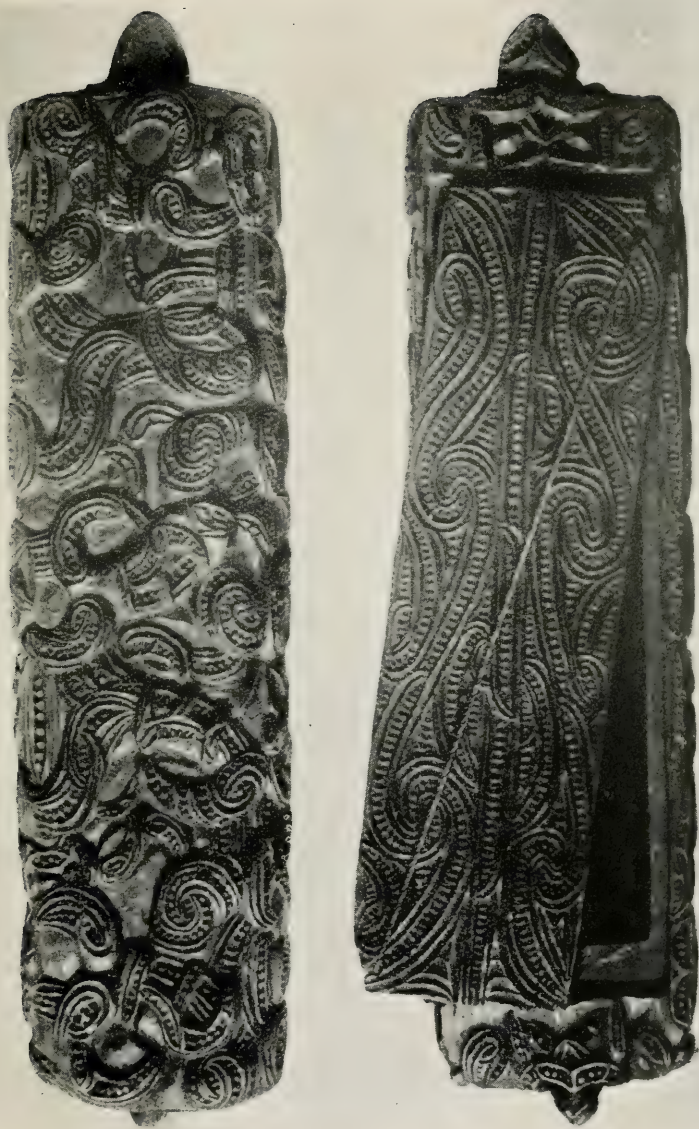
As regards the known Spanish voyages of Mendaña, Quiros, and others between 1567 and 1606, the romance of these lies in the fact that the wonderful, though much exaggerated, "golden lands of King Solomon" were discovered by them, and lost again for nearly two hundred years, being regarded in the interval by all geographers as a myth, and therefore (literally) removed from the maps! With the re-finding of these islands, and the thorough investigation in a scientific manner by Captain Cook of other Pacific groups, the legendary period of "early whites" may be said to cease.

To return to the native races. Up till a decade or so ago there was a generally accepted idea that the

natives of the Pacific should be divided into three main classes, Melanesians to the north-west and west of Fiji, Polynesians to the east and north-east of Fiji (and also to include New Zealand), and Micronesians to the north of Fiji.

But Dr. Rivers working in Melanesia, Sir Basil Thomson in the Fiji-Tonga district, and the members of the Polynesian Society in the various Polynesian groups, have thrown much new light on the subject, though there is still much to be unravelled before any definite and final conclusions can be arrived at. Step by step, in an extraordinarily thorough and painstaking manner, Dr. Rivers, on his expedition to Melanesia a few years ago, dissected out from a mass of heterogeneous custom, myth, and folk-lore, a clear and comprehensive picture of the successive immigrations into that part of the Pacific, and after exhaustively going into every aspect of the question came to the conclusion that on to the indigenous aboriginal people (probably of a negroid, or even negrito, type) there were grafted three general waves of immigrants, namely (1) an immigration of a people who buried their dead in a sitting position (these probably also extended their migration into Polynesia); (2) an immigration of a people who introduced kava-drinking as one of their religious ceremonies (these people held the cult of Ancestor-worship, totemism, and the tabu), and they also extended into Polynesia; and (3) a final immigration of a betel-chewing people, head-hunters, who sought trophies to offer as sacrifices to their ancestors.

There were, of course, other special migrations,



THE CURVILINEAR ART OF NEW ZEALAND AND ONE OR TWO ISLANDS.

(By permission of the British Museum.)



such as that of the people who brought to New Zealand and one or two other islands the curvilinear art peculiar to those places ; and that of the people *who brought the megalithic culture (which seems to have been largely connected with Sun-worship) to the Pacific*, and it is with these latter people that I have chiefly concerned myself in this book.

CHAPTER II

PRIMITIVE FORMS OF WORSHIP

THE great natural phenomenon that must strike the rudimentary intellect of primitive man more than anything else is the daily birth and death of the sun. When the sun is "dead" everything that is bad for man has the upper hand; Fear, Cold, and a Darkness that causes the loss of one of his few protections—his sense of Vision. But when the sun awakens to a new birth everything is bright once more, his protective sight has returned, shadowy ghosts and night-prowlers are banished, and his limbs are warmed again in the god-given rays. Little wonder that Sun-worship is first of all instinctively felt in a vague way; and, later on, when the mind of man progresses to a condition that allows of definite connected thought, a real Religion of the Sun is evolved. I say "later on," because I think it is generally admitted now that "Religion" is a comparatively late development, and that "Magic" is the first thing to call out the mystic element in man.

When man began to think out things he noticed the life-giving properties of the sun, how the flowers expanded in the sun's rays, how the fruits on the trees

grew ripe and sweet where the sun's rays shone on them, and how the blood in his own veins coursed more freely when he was warmed up by the sun. He thus began to associate the Sun with Fertility.

And when, through some lucky accident of lightning striking a dead tree, or the rubbing together of dry branches by the wind, he became acquainted with Fire, which warmed his blood even in the night, when the Sun had failed him, he began to count Fire as a sacred thing, second only to the great Sun, and to be also associated with it in the religion he was gradually evolving.

Thus probably came about in the dawn of the world's history the ancient Aryan or pre-Aryan belief of the presence of a universal God in the Sky, whose symbols were the Sun (and on earth its nearest counterpart, Fire). And on this, in later times, Zoroaster the Persian founded his cult of the perpetual struggle between Ormuzd, the God of the Sky, and Ahriman, Prince of Darkness.

This belief in the Sky-god and "Heaven" did much to influence the European descendants of the Aryans. Is not every English child taught that "our Heavenly Father" lives in the sky, and that "when we die we shall go there"? And some of the primitive nations—on the principle of "similarity," which so greatly sways the undeveloped mind—evolved the idea of cremation, believing that the body would thus be returning to the Sun in the sky, *via* the Sun's counterpart on earth, Fire. And it is also due to this idea of eventually returning to one's "eternal home" that the souls of the dead always journey "to the West,"

following in the steps of their father, the Sun, as he goes to his home on the horizon to rest. This beautiful idea of the path of the soul to the West was universally prevalent among those peoples who held belief in the divinity of the Sun, and has reached us as a catch-phrase—"going West"—from America, probably originally taken from some of the Sun-worshipping tribes there.

In very early days, before man increased to the enormous extent he has now, and while he was living in small scattered communities, wandering about in the unceasing search for food, the father of the family must necessarily have held the greatest possible influence. He it was who taught his children to battle with nature, and his slightest wish must have been their law. When they in turn grew up and had children of their own, they would notice, probably be forced to notice, the reverence which *their* fathers paid to the patriarch of the tribe. And when he died, he by whose advice and counsel they ordered their daily lives, they at first could hardly realize his death, and still called upon him, still expected his spirit to help and protect them. In time, to future generations, he became almost mythical, in fact a god; hence arose Ancestor-worship.¹ Other succeeding "patri-

¹ "John Adams, of Pitcairn Island, died March 1829. During his life all obeyed him as a parent. 'Father' was his only title. Shortly before his death he called the heads of the family together and urged them to appoint a chief; but they looked up to him whilst living, and have appointed none since his death."—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol III. Had these people not learnt to read the Bible, and had they been left undiscovered by the outside world, in a very few generations John Adams would have been a god, and his grave a shrine.

archs," when they in their turn died, would tend to oust him from that position, and cause him to be forgotten, especially among those tribes who wandered afield, away from the tomb; and thus *his* memory as the original ancestor would be short-lived among nomad tribes and much stronger among stationary ones. In other words a general and diffuse Ancestor-worship would be found among the nomad peoples who were continually having fresh examples before them, while among the stationary people the one original ancestor would, in time, as his earthly career was forgotten, become less worshipped as an "ancestor," but more worshipped as some mythical divinity, losing eventually his human semblance and assuming some fantastic form. Probably all primitive peoples held originally to this Ancestor-worship, and when a new and more real "religion," such as that of Sun-worship, first was practised by some rather more intellectual tribe, it became vaguely mixed up with Ancestor-worship, and the leaders of the people, they who conducted the ceremonies, would regard the Sun and their Ancestor as the same. The Sun became their father; they were sprung from the Sun. When they conquered other, more primitive, tribes, and fused with them, the people of the first tribe—the masters—would be the descendants of the Sun; the people of the other tribe—the serfs—would have to worship him also, but not in the semi-intimate and privileged capacity of his "children," as their conquerors would.

Thus among the followers of the Sun-cult the "Chief" becomes the son of the Sun, a part of the Sun; and at his death his tomb is naturally the most proper

place at which to hold the religious ceremonies and make the offerings connected with Sun-worship ; and this continues long afterwards, even when the tomb has ceased to be remembered as a tomb.

* * * *

Of the many ways of disposing of the dead which primitive man adopted, two main ideas stand clearly out :

- (a) The one was to preserve and retain the dead body (or if not all of it, at least an important part of it, such as the head or principal bones), thus keeping one's guardian spirit and his beneficent influence near one. The people who did this were naturally those who paid reverence to the protective spirits of their ancestors.
- (b) The other—adopted surely by a different race of people!—was to thrust away the dead as far out of sight as possible, and restrain them, through fear of the malignant influence of their ghosts.¹

In the former the body was preserved in a house or a vault, or an inaccessible cave, safe from beasts and human foes ; in the latter it was buried, often with a heap of stones piled over it, “ to keep it down,” as it were. Rivers has pointed out that this idea of restraint was possibly also the cause of the “ burial

¹ R. L. Stevenson mentions, in his *In the South Seas*, how a corpse on Penrhyn Island gave trouble by wandering at night, so the people re-opened the grave and buried him again, *but much deeper, and face downwards !*

in a sitting position " adopted over a large extent of the earth's surface, the body often being trussed up and securely tied, knee to chin.¹

Now those people who *preserved* their dead kept them as nearly as they could in the same condition as they were when living, and thus we have all varieties of mummification, from the elaborate embalming of ancient Egypt to the cruder methods of smoke-drying, of continuous oiling, and of puncturing (to tap the fluids and desiccate) found in various parts of the Pacific; but the same idea underlay all these methods, the minor differences were only due to the different parts of the world to which the people wandered.

One of the earliest methods of keeping safe the revered body of an ancestor from prowling animals, and yet accessible to his descendants if they so desired it, was to line and roof the grave with stone slabs, and then—so that he should have a house for his future existence—to build a rough shelter of boughs, covering the whole with earth or sand to keep it firm and secure. In time this mound became improved by facing it with stones, and thus the idea of the pyramid was developed, generally with a passage-way on the east side to allow of access to the dead ancestor by his descendants, and on the west side of egress for his soul on its journey to its final home. It is noteworthy that nearly all the pyramid-makers left the passage-way or slanting shaft at the *west* side, so that the

¹ This trussed-up position is of course found in the tumuli in our own country, the bodies lying on the side. Can the whole idea be to imply the position of a fœtus, a primitive suggestion of rebirth in the next world? The articles placed for use in the next world show that such an existence was believed in.

soul (or that portion of it that left this world for ever) should have no difficulty in going to its home in the West. This pyramid idea became naturally more associated with countries where the pile of dry sand would blow away if not faced with stone. In other countries where solid earth could be used the masonry covering of the tomb was not so important, more attention being devoted to the enclosure where the worshippers were stationed (which was probably originally just a rough surrounding wall to keep away wandering beasts). And this difference of soil and climate may possibly be the explanation of the attention paid to the surrounding wall of great stones at such places as Stonehenge, as opposed to the elaboration of the pyramid or tomb itself, as in Egypt or Mexico.

But in both forms the really important matter was the proper orientation of the tomb.

* * * *

To return to the question of the ceremonies and offerings connected with Sun-worship. To propitiate the Sun was naturally of the utmost importance, as the fertility of the earth—and therefore the lives of the human race—depended on it, and no offering could be too great to give. Thus it came about that the offering of a human being, the highest gift that we poor atoms on earth could give, became the recognized sacrifice. And Sir James Frazer considers that when in Mexico the priest, standing at the altar on the Sun's Pyramid, held up the still bleeding heart of the victim to the Sun, it was being offered with the idea of giving the Sun a new lease of life, that as the



STONE PYRAMID AT TAHITI.

(Photo from account of voyage of Mission ship "Duff," 1797. By permission of the London Missionary Society.)



Sun had expanded a certain portion of his vital substance in giving warmth and life and fertility to the earth, it was necessary to give back to it some important vital substance from this world, and what more symbolic of this than the living heart of man?

It has been shown that Fertility was closely connected with Sun-worship, and this is of course the origin of the Phallic-cult that became so marked among certain peoples, the large monoliths being in many instances simply meant as a phallus, set up to be used for religious rites at the seasons when the food-planting or harvesting turned men's attention to the importance of the cult.

Supposing that in very early days there was one people who kept as their central idea the worship of the Sun, and who conducted that worship at places marked by big stone structures, whether tombs, pyramids, or monoliths, and who associated it, but not so strongly, with Fire-worship, Ancestor-worship, and Phallic-worship, it is probable that on their splitting up and wandering to various parts of the world, or forming distant colonies, their descendants in one place might evolve to a greater degree the aspect of Fire-worship, others that of the Phallic-cult, and others that of Ancestor-worship, some of them even relegating the prime idea, the worship of the Sun, to an insignificant place in their religion.

Any trace, therefore, of these people may be picked up in quite unexpected places, and if we always keep the main theme before us such a clue may lead us to other traces which will corroborate the first one and help us to fit the puzzle together in a way we little hoped when we set about the task.

Now the obvious and evident remains of such a people may be seen along the coasts of Europe, from Scandinavia, Great Britain, and France, right round the shores of the Mediterranean, touching at Egypt, Persia, and India, and reaching to the Indonesian Islands, *and beyond*. Essentially a maritime race, though one branch of them seems to have made its way overland through Siberia, and possibly *via* the Behring Straits, to America.

During the period of the known history of the white man in the Pacific, extending over the last three hundred and fifty years, there have been occasional references by passing travellers to certain unexplained big stone remains (the stone images of Easter Island, the submerged "cities" of the Carolines, and the great trilithons of Tonga at once occur to one), and also to the many curious customs and folk-stories of the inhabitants, but it is only of recent years that they have begun to attract scientific interest, and to cause speculation to arise as to whether there may not possibly have been some connection of these Pacific Islanders with the other great stone builders of the ancient world.

CHAPTER III

EARLY VOYAGINGS OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDERS

THE day when man first found a gold nugget, discovered that it was malleable, and also that it would take a glittering polish, marked the birth of a new era for the world. For here was an ornament that he could easily alter to any shape that pleased him, and moreover one that, owing to its scarcity, his rivals were unlikely to copy—which probably pleased him still more, for man's sentiments have changed but little through the ages! From that day there gradually grew that feverish lust for the yellow metal that has lasted down to our time, and will probably last for countless ages yet to come. And another gift of nature which, owing to its combined beauty and rarity, was highly valued as an ornament was the jewel of the seas, the pearl.

So for these two things men risked their lives and wandered to the farthest limits of the then known world, ever pushing onwards, with their eyes strained towards the prizes before them. Professor Elliot-Smith and Mr. Perry have laid great stress on these causes of the earlier migrations of man, and have shown how their influence drew the wanderers on as far as

Africa on the one hand, and Indonesia and the coral seas on the other.

Has not the mind of every schoolboy been stirred to flights of fancy by the stories of Ophir, the ships of Solomon, and the great stores of gold and jewels they brought to the king? For centuries men have sought in vain to find the source of this wealth, for untold generations have adventurers penetrated Africa, Arabia, and the East searching for traces of the lost land. It was, indeed, in order to persuade the king and nobles of Spain to go to the expense of fitting out another expedition that Mendaña called his new islands "the Land of Solomon"—surely a very early instance of company promoting! It is considered that Ophir may have been merely a trading and collecting centre, possibly on the Indian coast; but there is little doubt that the seafarers, all cousins of one ancient race, who wandered in search of the gold, ploughed their way in all directions through the lonely oceans, North, South, and East; and planted colonies and left stone monuments in Britain, Ireland, and the French coasts, along the shores of Africa (and up-country into Mashonaland), and across to Persia, India, and "the Golden Chersonese" which was probably one of the islands of Indonesia, or else the Malay Peninsula. These same people no doubt introduced new ideas into Egypt, and took away Egyptian customs in exchange, so that when we find the Egyptian Hawk-god carved over the entrance to the mines at Zimbabwe it does not at all follow that Egyptians must have set it there. *It was a people who mined and sought for gold, who built great stone-walled morticed temples,*

of a type which I shall presently show they built in other parts of the world, and who worshipped the Sun. A people who, from regarding the pearl-shell as an emblem of their trade, came to regard it in time as a religious symbol, and who buried certain of their dead with a pearl-shell beneath the head, skeletons thus buried having been discovered as far apart as Etruria in Europe and Pitcairn Island in the Pacific; while to this day a portion of the New Britain people must present a pearl-shell with all their offerings at ceremonial functions.¹ It is quite possible also that the use of a pearl-shell by the holy Palmers on their pilgrimages may have had some forgotten connection with this custom.

* * * *

Now if it is suggested that these people sailed to such distant places across the great seas at a period of time many hundreds of years ago, it must be clearly shown that they had ships capable of facing the storms and perils of the voyage, and a knowledge of navigation to reach their destination. Till recent years it has been customary to think of the ships of early man as being of but the rudest type, mere skiffs for smooth water, sailing in sight of land. But antiquarian research has found that the peoples of ancient civilizations

¹ Also at Faka-ofu Island, in the Union Group, over 2,000 miles to the East, the pearl-shell is an essential part of all religious rites. And for the connection between the pearl-shell and the Sun-cult, see the myth on page 54 about Monuia. And a most important link is the Maori tradition quoted by S. P. Smith, of a fair people called the Patu-pai-arhe, which I am inclined to translate as the "Stone-cult, pearl-shell-cult, chiefs"; Patu or Vatu being Stone, pai being Pearl-shell, and arhe the same as Ariki—chiefs.

had far larger vessels than we ever imagined them to have, vessels that could take big cargoes and carry many men, vessels sheathed with metal for use in tropical waters,¹ vessels that could sail up to the wind in a way that Nelson's captains would have envied.

Ptolemy Philopater possessed a ship 420 feet long, 57 feet wide, rowed by forty banks of oars. This monster vessel is stated to have carried on one occasion 3,000 soldiers on the decks, 400 sailors to manage the sails, and 4,000 slaves to row the sweeps! This was of course exceptional, but there were many ships of one to two hundred feet in length, of great sail-spread, and skilfully navigated; ships that would have been giants to the puny barques of Christopher Columbus. In fact, with the decay of ancient civilizations the art of ship-building decayed also, just as one can see at this day the native vessels of the Pacific dwindling in size with the degeneration of the people. Great ships sailed the Pacific in the lost ages; native traditions tell of lengthy voyages of months' duration, in three-masted ships, with many people, animals, and household goods on board. As late as the eighteenth century Captain Cook records a two-masted ship 108 feet long used by the Hawaiians; in the middle of the nineteenth century the Rev. Wm. Ellis found double canoes at Tahiti that were over 70 feet long²;

¹ A Roman ship, temp. *Trajan*, was recovered in Italy, and found to be sheathed with thin sheets of lead. And there is a legend among the Indians of Vancouver that gods arrived there from the West "in copper ships" many centuries ago.

² Since writing the above I have come across an entry in an old missionary book that while the Rev. J. Williams was at Tahiti in 1819 there arrived from the Austral Group, 700 miles

while I found on first going to the Lau Islands a dozen years ago a double canoe, disused but still intact, that was bigger than any of the canoes used to-day.¹

That the people who crossed and re-crossed the Pacific in those early days were skilled in navigation has now been made clear in a number of interesting ways. They had a keen instinct for astronomy, and read the stars as an open book. The Pleiades, known to the ancient Polynesians as "Mata-riki," the Royal Stars, were a signal to mark the commencement of the new year and the planting season, and—six months later, on their re-appearance—of the alternative season. The advent of the Pleiades was also associated with important religious ceremonies, as I shall show later on.

The position of the sun at different times in the year was carefully studied, and Kupé, the first *Polynesian* discoverer of New Zealand, who is said to have lived about the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, gave to succeeding expeditions from Tahiti very particular sailing directions that they should "steer always a little to the right of the place where the Sun, Moon, and Venus all set at the beginning of the hot season."

Though in their lengthy isolation *en route* among the smaller islands of the Pacific they had lost their

away, a large planked canoe, 12 feet deep, "such as are still used in the Celebes," and which could carry 140 men, with all their stores, water, etc.

¹ Though this was not so big as the double canoe, *Ra Marama*, broken up before I arrived in Fiji. She was 102 feet long, and the "holds" of the two portions were each five feet wide and six feet deep.

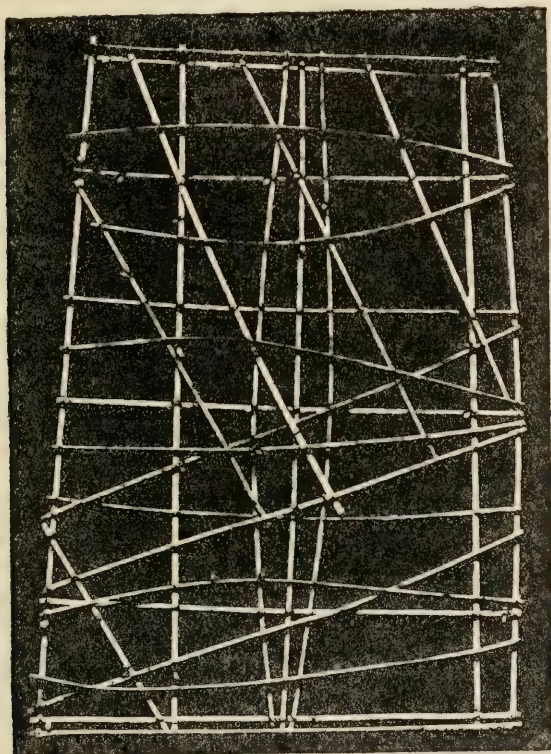
knowledge of metals, yet they retained a shadowy memory of a primitive compass, and it is stated by, I think, either P. Smith or K. Newman (both prominent workers of the Polynesian Society) that they marked off thirty-two points of the wind, following round N. E. S. W., just as their cousins in other parts of the world do to this day.

In the Cook Islands the various constellations of stars were well known, and ancient kite-flying games, of a semi-religious nature, were carried on among the hill-tops, the kites' tails having weights attached corresponding in numbers to and named after the different stars of each group. It is, I think, not at all unlikely that this kite-flying was connected in the original ceremonial with Sun-worship, the kite representing the sun, and the string the one long ray, as is found in some of the primitive Sun-worship ceremonies of Africa, quoted by Frobenius.

In the British Museum there is a very old canoe-paddle from Fiji, neatly inlaid with pearl-shell stars, crescent-moons, and other astronomical signs, and worked in a way the modern Fijian has quite lost the art of.

Lastly, there were the wonderful sailing charts of the Marshall Islands, a science handed down to them from their forgotten ancestors. The charts were skilfully made of reeds interlaced and bound together, in such a way that some of them show the currents, and others the prevailing winds, while attached at the proper places are small shells to mark the positions of the various islands. With these charts the Marshall Islanders used to make long voyages of many weeks'

duration, in big sailing canoes built to withstand the heaviest seas. Similar charts were known to the early Fijians, and one is noted in the *Records of the Australasian Association for the advancement of Science*,



NATIVE CHART FROM THE MARSHALL ISLANDS.

(Fig. 149. Ethnographical Guide, British Museum Handbook.)

vol. iii. It is interesting to recall here the famous "chart of Tupæa," drawn by Captain Cook and Foster from information supplied to them at Tahiti by the chief Tupæa. It places such distant islands as Tonga,

Samoa, Fiji, Wallis, etc., in very nearly their correct positions, showing how accurate the sailing knowledge of these ancient native voyagers was. Naturally these old-time seafarers of the Pacific availed themselves also of any extraneous aids they could, and it is recorded that one of the reasons why the first voyagers to New Zealand turned in that direction was because they noticed at certain seasons of the year vast flocks of birds flying up always in the same direction from the south, so they rightly surmised that there must be another land over there. (These birds are thought to have been migrating birds returning to Japan.) As the legend says, "they watched the birds by day and heard their cries by night."

That the old Polynesians made extraordinarily lengthy voyages is shown by the very complete story of the journey of Ui-te-rangiora to the Antarctic seas, where he found strange things, mountainous icebergs, ice and snow "white like scraped arrowroot," and walruses and seals; as the legend runs: "... Till we saw rocks growing out of the sea, in the spaces beyond Rapa . . . the frozen sea of 'pia' (scraped arrowroot) . . . and the deceitful animal who dives to great depths . . . a foggy dark place, not seen by the sun. . . ." And the time of Ui-te-rangiora was about the seventh century A.D. ! The Rev. J. Moulton, of Tonga, has noted that the Tongans, too, had traditions of a congealed ocean to the south.

These were, of course, exceptional voyages, pioneer sailings. When the venture had once been made, as for instance between Hawaii and Tahiti, and the travellers had returned to tell their tale, subsequent

journeys were not so fearsome, as the captains then knew roughly how long they might expect to be on the way, what direction they ought to make for, and above all that there *was* a land at the other end for them to go to. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that of these early trials of man against the might of the seas, *only the successful voyages were recorded*; the unsuccessful ones were hidden for ever in the ocean depths, and they sadly outnumbered the others. Again, in the western half of the great Pacific ocean, the islands are thickly flung together, and often land is visible from island to island for perhaps a thousand miles or more. On the one route from the Malay Peninsula as far as New Guinea, I have been told that a ship might keep in sight of land the whole way. And it is very likely, too, that in these volcano-studded waters there may have been changes in the ocean floor even within the last thousand years or so, and that many land bridges existed where none are found to-day.

In yet one more way was the intelligence of man brought in to aid a successful voyaging, and this was that when a fleet was making for some distant island they would spread out in crescent formation, each some few miles apart from the next, so that a fleet of ten vessels might thus make a front of perhaps fifty to a hundred miles, rendering the chances of being able to sight the expected land many times more easy; and this was important, as to miss one's goal and wander, lost, into the unknown usually meant death.

Now with the big ships that they undoubtedly had

in those early days there was probably no more difficulty in sailing against the wind than with the sailing ships of to-day, possibly not so much ; as this ancient type was built to sail " into the eye of the wind." Thus the theory (which was built on the supposition that they merely possessed the same small frail canoes as they have to-day, that the peoples who entered the Pacific could not have come *from the West*, i.e. against the prevailing east winds, cannot any longer be valid, especially as the main current runs in the opposite direction. Moreover, for several months in the year an alternating west wind prevails, often blowing furiously for a week or more at a time. Nevertheless I do not consider that *all* the migrations into the Pacific were from the West, and in the light of recent investigations the old theory of one migration at least from South America stands, I feel, stronger to-day than ever it did. Then, of course, the occasional arrivals, probably quite late, within the last few centuries, of chance vessels from China and Japan to the Micronesian Islands have no doubt had an effect on the mixture of natives there. But apart from these two sources there can be no doubt that the main body of " Polynesians " and of their sub-branch, the " Melanesians," entered the Pacific by way of Indonesia.

It is now, I think, generally accepted that a Turanian-speaking race originated somewhere on the borders of Europe and Asia, not far from the Caspian Sea. One branch of them made their way to Europe, probably *via* the Black Sea and Mediterranean (and part of these became our " seafaring, gold, and pearl seekers "), while the other branch moved south to

Persia and across India, pushing before them the original black Dravidian Hamitic peoples out to Indonesia, and eventually into the Pacific.

But in Indonesia the "seafarers" had by this time come round by the sea-route and joined up again with their cousins from overland, and together they advanced along the route already used by the black races, and at last flowed out into the Pacific as "the Polynesians." Some writers, notably P. Smith and K. Newman, have clearly shown that the Polynesians must have originated from up-country in India; others, of whom Fornander was the pioneer, have shown that they came from the coasts of Arabia, and even Egypt, but it seems to me that on my theory, as enunciated above, there is no reason why these two apparently conflicting statements might not be reconciled. And this mixture of the ancestors of the Polynesians may be one of the reasons why the Maoris, the Hawaiians, and the Samoans, for instance, are really such different peoples, though at first sight all much the same, all speaking one tongue.

And another reason to account for the subtle differences in the Polynesians is *the contrast in their predecessors in the various island groups*. In certain groups the predominant factor would be the aboriginal negroid people; in other groups there might be the Dravidian element pushed out of India; while in other groups, far to the east, there might have been an ancient influx from South America; and it is such possibilities that must not be lost sight of in any inquiries into the origin of the race.

But for all that the main body of the Polynesian

race was pure, a noble race of early voyagers whose fatherland was an abode of ancient civilization, a race who were closely akin to the original people of "the cradle of the world." In some of the smaller islands a little way off the main route they may have arrived upon an empty land, and have been left undisturbed through the centuries; and such an island is Tikopia Island, lying north-east of the New Hebrides Group. Visited but once a year ¹ (and that only within the last decade), it has been untouched by white "civilization"—Dillon, who learnt here of the fate of La Perouse, was one of the few white captains who have called at the island—and such occasional travellers as have landed there have been amazed at the difference between these people and any others of the South Seas. They are, in fact, a forgotten colony, dropped en route, of the real Polynesian race. Dr. Rivers has told me how pleased he was to find such a wonderful field for scientific research, and how well the islanders compared with the more mixed peoples; Dr. Speisser was fascinated by these soft-spoken children of an ancient race, and gives a delightful glimpse of them in his book *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific*, written only a year or two ago:—

"Again and again I seemed to see the living originals of some classical picture, and more and more my soul succumbed to the intoxicating charm of the lovely island. . . . A young native was going to Norfolk

¹ At a time when the Bishop was due to pay them his annual visit in the mission steamer *Southern Cross* in 1910, a great storm arose, so these simple converts of his in the kindest manner sacrificed to the "Red Sting-ray and the Black Sea-eel," two of their ancient gods, for the Bishop's safety and protection!

Island, and he took leave of his family and of the chief in a manly way which was touching to witness. He bowed and laid his face on the knees of some old white-haired men with finely chiselled, noble faces. They seemed to bless him, then they raised his head and tenderly pressed their faces against his, so that their noses touched. The boy brushed away a tear and then jumped bravely on board. . . . As their canoes were soon overcrowded many of them jumped into the water with shouts and laughter, and swam several miles to the shore, floating happily in the blue sea, with their long hair waving after them like liquid gold. Thus I saw the last of the dream island, bathed in the rays of the setting sun. My regret was shared by the boy, who stood, still ornamented with flowers and wreaths, at the stern of the steamer, looking sadly back at his disappearing paradise. . . .” 1

1 I consider that Stewart's Island, Rennell Island, Bellona Island, and especially Ongtong Java Island may be similar "dropped Polynesian colonies." All are small islands on the outer fringe of the Solomon Group, and fairly safe from the savage negroid people. The name Ongtong Java is significant, as the word "Java" is a definite Polynesian place-name, traced in slightly different forms right along the path of their journey. (See later chapter.)

CHAPTER IV

SUN-MYTHS OF THE PACIFIC

SUN-WORSHIP has been connected with a race of people who built stone monuments, temples, and tombs, from Europe to the gates of the Pacific. In this book I shall endeavour to show which of the peoples of the Pacific are the descendants of this megalithic race; and shall work my way to this end along the four different paths of Mythology, Tradition, Custom, and Investigation of the stones themselves, paths which I believe will be found to converge upon one ultimate result, the establishment of the connection of this people, hidden through the ages in the heart of the Pacific, with the historical races of the outside world.

* * * *

And, firstly, because it is the most intangible, hazy path of the four, let us try, as far as it is in our power, to direct some rays of explanatory light along the shadowy byway of Myth. But we must always bear in mind that this is only one of the paths, that it can have no value by itself, but only when taken in conjunction with the others. Mr. Hocart has well shown this in an excellent little monograph on *The common-sense of Myth* (1916), wherein he writes: "So long as

an anthropologist imagines that he can confine his interest entirely to myth, or to religion, so long will he be confined to absolute sterility . . . a myth will have some of its roots in technology, others in religion, others in something which we do not know how to classify. If we cast our net wide enough to embrace the whole culture the clues required to explain a myth will find it hard to escape us. . . ."

Keeping this axiom in view, and above all remembering that "no belief, however crude, can be held by the majority of a people for any considerable time as true, without having in the beginning some foundation in fact," let us turn to the astronomical myths, and particularly Sun (and Fire) myths, as found in the Pacific to-day.

Myths in these islands have been particularly well preserved owing to the geographical conditions of isolation, just as they were well preserved in Iceland; and until the recent coming of the white man, and especially the missionary, with a new and supplanting—often intermingling—set of "god stories" (as the natives regarded them), the ancient myths were handed down in an unaltered state from generation to generation. That they were, from the European view point, apparently mere fairy tales, stories of impossible deeds of fantastic beings, matters not, for in nine cases out of ten *they began as history*, and that is the important thing to remember. As Max Müller stated:

" Mythology as a whole is neither religion nor history, nor philosophy, nor poetry. It comprehends all these together under that peculiar form of expression which

is natural and intelligible at a certain stage, or at certain recurring stages, in the development of thought and speech, but which, after becoming traditional, becomes frequently unnatural and unintelligible."

So, then, let us consider some of these ancient stories of the gods.

* * * *

It has been said that if man is placed in similar conditions in different parts of the world he will evolve the same ideas, the same customs, the same myths. This is no doubt to a large extent true, but such a theory should not be carried to extremes, and when we find legends that are related, of precisely the same deeds performed by the same heroes (even if under changed names and in another tongue), we may begin to wonder if there may not be some unsuspected relationship after all.¹

Now the Sun and Fire-myths of the Pacific naturally group themselves into

- (a) Tales to explain natural phenomena, such as night and day, rainbows, eclipses, etc.
- (b) Tales to show the divine royalty of the Sun, and how communication with it was obtained.

One of the world's oldest stories is that of Phœbus Apollo, the Sky-god, the driver of the Sun, who was tricked into handing over the reins of his sun-chariot

¹ I should mention here that there can be no question of the following myths of the natives having been suggested to them by white men. They were ancient among them when the first white men arrived.

to his son Phæton, with the result that Phæton so mismanaged affairs that he scorched the earth and was cast out, in consequence, by his wrathful parent.

Now in Polynesia there were no horses,¹ so the Sun, on coming up through the opening on the eastern horizon, had to run across the sky, and descend again through a similar opening in the west. So we find Rangi, the Sky-god, grew very angry when his son Maui tried to noose the Sun—and scorched the earth in doing so—with the result that he also was cast out by his irate father.

In North America the Mink climbed up by arrow rays to the Sun-god, his father. The Mink was told to carry the sun. But he went too fast and scorched the earth, so was cast out by his father.

This attempting to capture or interfere with the Sun is found in such widely distant lands as Europe, Polynesia, Peru, and other countries; and there is no doubt that it was to explain the reason why the sun does not leave us altogether, as he would do if he had been allowed to pass on uncontrolled across the sky, moving always onwards till he was lost for ever. *But because the lands where the myth is found are widely separated, it does not necessarily follow that the story had not one place of origin when it was young.* Variations of it in the Pacific are found in island groups whose peoples probably arrived in that ocean at different

¹ Though Tregear, the philologist, in his book, *The Aryan Maori*, shows that some of the root words of their language implied a knowledge by the Polynesians, afterwards forgotten, of the existence of both horses and cattle, in their previous home.

times (and possibly from different starting places, though of the one main race).

Thus in Samoa we find that "Child of the Sun" noosed his father to make him go more slowly. The Sun acknowledged himself vanquished, and offered a choice of "Blessings" or "Calamities." The youth chose "Blessings"—there is no catch in this fairy-tale—which were let down to him in a basket.

In Tonga a beautiful damsel named Tiki-mataila'a was hidden away from the sight of all men, but the Sun shone on her, fell in love with her, and married her (this is the old Scandinavian tale in another form). She had a son, who, when he grew up, sailed in search of his father across the ocean, first to the east, then back to the west, but never able to catch up with him. At last, on the eastern horizon, he got near enough to shout to him and beg him to tarry for a moment. The Sun, after some demur, consented to remain behind a cloud long enough to give the boy some advice, which was to approach his aunt, the Moon, and request from her an article called Melaia. He added that on no account was he to ask for another thing called Monuia. Needless to say the headstrong youth promptly asked for Monuia, which, on being unwrapped, turned out to be a magnificent scintillating pearl-shell, which so attracted all the fish of the ocean that they crowded in on to his canoe from all sides and drowned him.

In Vanua Lava (New Hebrides) there was a lovely maiden who refused many offers, until one day, when the village was deserted, the earth opened and a radiantly handsome young man appeared, who fell in love with her at first sight. His name, he told her,

was Wet-mat-liwo. So they were married and lived happily together for some time ; until one cold night the Spirit of the fire, which was as usual burning at one end of the house, enticed her to forsake her husband for him. Thereupon her husband left her for ever, disappearing again through the hole in the ground that he had first come up by. Bitterly she repented her folly, and ran after him, beseeching him to stay, and tried to restrain him. But it was too late, he eluded her grasp, and now she sorrows for ever for the lost light of her life.

In Mangaia (Cook Islands) Ra, the Sun-god, drops through a hole at the horizon and lights the nether-world during his off-time from our world. (The root Ra, by the way, for the Sun, God, or Divine Ruler, is, of course, seen in the Egyptian Ra-harakt, the hawk-headed Sun-god ; is found unchanged in the Fijian Ra, the Sun ; and but little altered in the Aryan Rag, Sanskrit Raj, Latin Rex, Gothic Reik, Polynesian A-riki, Arabic S-ariki, and in similar words in many other countries.)

This idea of the sun " dropping through the horizon " was made use of in a very beautiful funeral ode composed by a Mangaian chief on the death of his well-beloved wife, in 1824, and quoted in full in Gill's *Songs of the South Pacific*. The resemblance of this chant—composed by a scion of an ancient race that might perhaps have wandered from the Mediterranean—to the songs of the old-time Greeks, is positively startling.

SOLO

Teiia'ua ngaro ē ?

Whither has she gone ?

CHORUS

Tei Avaiki e oro atu,	She has sped to Avaiki,
Kore e ariu tei te nii moana :	She disappeared at the edge of the horizon,
Tei te opunga i te rā	Where the sun drops through.
Ka tangi i reira !	We weep for thee !

SOLO

Ka tangi ana 'i,	Yes, I will for ever weep,
Oki ra a kimi ra aē !	And ever seek for thee !

CHORUS

Tangi au ka tangi e,	Bitter tears I shed for thee ;
Tangi ki te vaine ua ngaro ra,	I weep for the lost wife of my bosom.
Aore koe e tu e angairi.	Alas ! thou wilt not return.

SOLO

Mai tu e angairi !	Oh, that thou wouldst return !
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CHORUS

Ariu mai i te ao ē !	Stay ; come back to this world !
Oki maira iaku nei.	Return to my embrace.
Akia koe, ua motu ĩa tarereia au !	Thou art as a bough wrenched off by the blast !

SOLO

Mai tārērē au ē tei Avaiki—	Wrenched off, and now in Avaiki—
Te enua mamao i oro atu na ē !	That distant land to which thou art fled.

Another Cook Island legend is that about Maui, who made a number of nets of sinnet¹ to snare the Sun, and waited for it at the opening on the horizon where it was wont to ascend from Avaiki (which is the home of the Sun, and, as I shall show later, the

¹ Coco-nut fibre.

ancestral home of the Sun-worshippers). He laid one of his snares at this opening, and five others at places along the path of the Sun's journey across the heavens ; and by this means he was able to entangle successively the foot, knee, hip, arm, and head of the Sun, who at last had to give in and accede to his demands that in future the daily race should be run at a more moderate pace.

A more romantic version of this story is that Maui, having attempted many times to snare the Sun with nets of fibre, which were invariably scorched and rendered useless, begged the Moon for some long tresses of her hair ; which, being woven into a net, proved invulnerable to the Sun's rays and successfully held it. But the Moon wept to think that she had been the unwitting cause of the downfall of her lover, the Sun.

Still one more myth to account for the difference between Night and Day is that of Quat, the hero-god of the Banks Islands. He found that his people suffered from the torrid heat of perpetual day. Their food plantations were being shrivelled up, all were panting and exhausted in the glaring heat. So he made a journey to the Torres Islands, where—different to the Banks—the sun was seen daily to set, shrouded by a benevolent night. And here, after sundry adventures, he was successful in purchasing a portion of Night from Quong, the terrible deity of those parts. (It is curious to note how the business element crept in here. In this and adjacent regions of the Pacific, unlike other parts of it, a very strong commercial instinct has been present from time immemorial;

and one finds naked savages, often cannibals, with a working code of loans, interest, liquidation of debt, and all the paraphernalia of Throgmorton Street. What matters it that their currency is shell-money, it is "currency.")

Now we come to a slightly different series of myths, though they are still myths to explain the difference between Night and Day. These are the legends where daylight, or the Sun, is swallowed up into the cavernous belly of Night, and—as might be expected in coastal or island peoples—they are illustrated by tales of the brilliant hero-god being swallowed into the dark maw of a great fish.

The first of these once more concerns the famous Polynesian god Maui, who according to some accounts was, like divine Venus, "born of the sea-foam." When he was still young his "earth-mother" threw him back into the sea, and he was at once swallowed up by a huge whale. But after many days a certain warrior named Tama-niu-ki-te-rangi, who was cruising round the coasts, heard his cries, and killed the whale and cut it open, releasing Maui for the benefit of the world.

Again, at Ysabel Island (Solomon Group) a hero of old, named Kama-kaya-kau, was swallowed by a great fish, which took him away to "the rising sun." Luckily he had an obsidian knife in his hand at the time, and managed to cut his way out.

A somewhat similar tale is that of Mutuk, in the Torres Straits, who was out fishing and got swallowed by a big shark. He, too, managed to cut his way out with a mussel-shell he had with him, escaping to the outside world scot-free, *except for the loss of his hair.*

Now comes the curious parallel, which is surely something more than a mere coincidence. In a North American coastal legend we find that Kaig, the Mink, going herring fishing into the North Pacific, was swallowed by a big fish, but managed to cut his way out, and he, too, found on getting free *that he had lost his hair!*

I have notes of many more of these "swallowed by a whale" legends, but I have chosen these four to show that in the west, the middle, and on the extreme east of the Pacific the same myth exists; and I believe that they are all connected with the "Jonah and the whale" story, which also was probably founded on a "Sun and Darkness" myth of very early times, told by the common ancestors of the Semitic peoples and the Polynesians.

A tale of the love of the Sun and the Moon is found in that island of lover's tales, Samoa. Here Maluafiti (Shade of Fiji) was the radiant youth-god of the Sky. It happened that two of his sisters were at the time dwelling on earth, so his parents said to him: "Arise, Maluafiti, and take this present of choice foods to your sisters, for it is long since we have seen them."

Now the sisters had never seen their brother before, and were amazed at his beauty and delighted with his charming graces. "Here is one who is indeed a fitting mate for Sina, the beautiful Moon-Queen of Fiji," said they; and they forthwith went over to Fiji to inform Sina of their discovery; taking with them the shadow of Maluafiti in a gourd. Now Sina had heard of the great beauty of the young Sun-god, but did not realize that these were his sisters and envoys,

so refused to listen to them, and spurned them from her. So the sisters waited, and one day when Sina was bathing they cast the shadow of Maluafiti on to her bathing pool. Sina at once fell in love with it, but searched in vain for the actual being to whom the shadow belonged. Fruitless was her quest. She sent warriors to the four corners of the earth to trace the original of this beautiful reflection, but without avail. And still were the sisters of Maluafiti despised and ill-treated.

One day, however, in the midst of their tears they were heard by a wise man to cry out: "Maluafiti, rise up. 'Tis day. Your shadow here only prolongs our ill-treatment. Come, we implore you, and speak to Sina yourself, that she may believe us and end our misery."

The wise man hurried off to Sina and told her that these were in very truth the sisters of Maluafiti, for that when they had finished crying out he had noticed a movement in the sun itself, and behold, here was Maluafiti even now arriving.

Sina, in great fear, now begged forgiveness of the sisters, but it was too late, for Maluafiti had arrived, and was striding up in a terrible rage, admonishing her for her unkindness.

Sina pleaded with him, coaxed him, tried by every art in her power to turn his anger to love; but in vain. He turned his back on her and moved away, striding off at a speed that no mortal could attempt. She ran after him to the shore, imploring him to stay, but without avail. Desperate, she swam after his receding glory across the ocean, but before she could

reach his home on the horizon she sank in the waters. And thus her spirit even now pursues in vain the Sun. There are many of these "Night and Day" myths, and also, of course, the obvious ones about Eclipses, such as that in Raratonga, where Tangaroa, the Sun-god, in his wrath against the world, eats up his own heavenly symbol, the Sun, and how its release necessitates the death of some great chief, some descendant of the god, as payment. A similar idea was prevalent in Fiji, where an eclipse of the sun always signified the near death of a big chief.¹

¹ Curiously enough, we have been able to fix an important date in Fijian history in this way, as Banuve, one of the earliest of the Bau kings, showed his divine origin by conveniently dying at the time of a total eclipse, the date of which has been worked out by astronomical tables. But of more consequence than this was the fact that we can therefore date the visitation of some unknown shipwrecked white men, who introduced gunpowder and firearms, thus upsetting dynasties and altering the whole political history of the Fijian race.

CHAPTER V

SUN-MYTHS OF THE PACIFIC (*continued*)

Now we come to the second group of Sun-myths, namely, those that show the divine royalty of the Sun, and how communication with it was obtained. The natural connections between the Sun and the earth are, of course, the Sun's rays, and so it is by their means that, in actual practice, it was considered the priests of the Sun could receive and send their communications; and, in myth, that certain beings on the earth could ascend to the Sun. Let us look first of all at some of these myths.

In the Banks Islands another exploit of Quat (the god who obtained "Night" for his people) was to steal, and bury underground, the wings of a Sky-fairy who had put them on one side while bathing. She was then helpless, and had no choice but to become his wife. But, as might be expected, the match was not a happy one; and one day, weeping bitterly in a corner of the garden, she noticed that her tears were washing away the earth and exposing something white. With joy she saw that it was part of her wings, and quickly rescuing them and putting them on again, she flew off to the Sky. The disconsolate but ingenious Quat, on finding out his loss, shot with all his might

an arrow into the air, where it remained quivering, sunk to the shaft in the blue vault of heaven. He then shot a second one into the notch of the first, and a third one at the second, and so on, till he had a complete string of arrows reaching down to the earth. He was thus able to climb up this pathway to the Sun, win back his wife, and, it is to be hoped, lived happily ever afterwards.

Now there are many similar versions of the "arrows into the Sun" story, all so much alike that one can only think they sprang from what was originally the same race. In North America the birds wanted to invade the world of the Sun-god, so one of them, called Toitu, shot successive arrows into the sky, and thus they were all able to climb up and carry out their invasion. Another tale has it that the woodpecker and the eagle lost their son, who had been carried off to the sky. They, also, successfully climbed up a pathway of arrows which they had shot off, one into the other. (The use of animals and birds in these American tales merely signifies the totem names of the tribe or actors in the story.) In the Celebes Island (Indonesia) a rattan is used for the arrow-pathway, though the rest of the story—of a fairy who, visiting earth, had her white "flying garment" stolen from her and was thus compelled to marry a mortal—is practically the same as the story of Quat.

These fabled "paths of communication" to the Sun were also found in a concrete and tangible form in several nations of Sun-worshippers, which the scheme of this book is to link together, that is to say, the people who in ancient times lived round the Mediter-

anean, the Indian Ocean, and in the islands of the Pacific, and across it as far as America. Thus the Dyaks of Borneo whispered questions into a shell (wet with the blood of a recent sacrifice) that was attached by a cord to a sort of holy ark, known as the ship of Tempon-telon, who was a deity associated with a form of Sun-cult. At the first rays of the dawn the devotee removed the shell and attached himself in its place, to receive the answer along this tangible representation of the Sun's ray. The Indians of Dakota in North America were accustomed, at certain times of the year, to erect a tall pole, and when the Sun was overhead they attached themselves to the crown of the pole by cords, hooks actually being passed through the skin and muscle of their backs. This practice was stopped by a Government Order in 1883.

In Fiji the god (though ceasing to be regarded as a Sun-god after the Melanesian upheaval mentioned earlier, and changing into Ratumaibulu¹ and other district gods) still kept up his connection with the priests by means of a sun-ray, the representation of it being a narrow strip of white tappa suspended from the roof of the temple. By means of this the spirit of the god entered into the priest, who sat at the base

¹ Ratumaibulu becomes in Fiji more the god of Fertility and less the god of the Sun, in accordance with the axiom I laid down on page 35. And as the Serpent was largely symbolic of Fertility and Phallic-worship, so in Fiji was the Snake the living shrine of Ratumaibulu; *but, to show how traces of the ancient Sun-cult still remained, the rainbow was said "to spring from off the Snake of Ratumaibulu"* (except by the fishermen, who substituted their Shark-god, Dakuwanga, as the starting-point of the rainbow).

of it, and thence gave out his message to the waiting people.

Another example is seen to this day in the cord of sinnet, attached by one end to every ceremonial kava-bowl, which cord must always be laid out to point direct to the chief; so that a portion of the sacred "influence" which emanates from all these semi-divine chiefs should be passed straight into the bowl of kava.

And just as the spirit of the god descended down the white tappa to earth, so did the god himself, Tangaroa, descend down his rainbow—which was merely his girdle unfastened—and make love, at Mangaia Island, to Hina the Beautiful, by whom he had *two fair-haired children*.¹ (The legend goes on to say that there were at Mangaia seven dwarf sons of Pinga, all champions at the game of reed-throwing. But when these two fair children grew up, one of them, Tara-uri, invoked his father, and then cast his dart; which flew on and on, and never came to earth again for eight days, thus defeating for all time the presumptuous sons of Pinga. Tara-uri at once became the patron saint of the game, and is so to this day.)

We can now pass to a closer examination of the more personal myths affecting the Sun, and the first thing that calls one's attention is that there were two main Sun-gods in the Pacific, namely Tané and Tangaloa (or Kané and Ta'aoa, according to dialect). Tané ranks as the earlier and more important deity in

¹ Reference will be made later to this association, so frequently found, of the Sun or Sky-god with a fair-haired, fair-skinned people.

Hawaii, while Tangaroa is pre-eminent in Central Polynesia (except in the Cook Islands, where the legend has it that Tangaroa and Rongo were the twin sons of Vatea and his wife Papa (mother-earth) ; Tangaroa being born slightly earlier. He, however, had to give way in all things to Rongo, aided and abetted by their mother ; and though he still received offerings of young coco-nuts on the stalk, symbolic of his primogeniture, he got little else *except anything of a red or flame colour*. Thus he received any red fish, red fruits, etc., but as these were naturally far more scarce than the others, Rongo scored heavily.

Tané seems in the Hawaiian Islands to have been an earlier god, whose cult in after years became obscured and partly forgotten when the worship of Tangaroa took a more prominent place among the people. Tané was a milder, more benevolent god, and it is stated by Fornander that there is no evidence to connect human sacrifices with his worship. He was the Sun-god, but, above all, he was the god of the land and of forests. And it may not be out of place here to mention in passing that there were distinct traces of a religion connected with woods and tree-gods in the Pacific ; symbolical "marriages to trees," and other forest-god customs have been noted ; and some of these traces of a forest-cult, associated with Sun-worship, make one hark back for a moment to thoughts of our Druid priests at home.

The fact that Tané was the god of the soil and of trees is quite sufficient to account for his becoming, in the Cook Islands, the god of Fertility ; and thus, at Mangaia, he became simply a Phallic-god, known

generally as "the husband," and whose worship was associated with dances. Gill quotes a legend that beautiful Tapairu fairies, daughter of Miru, used to climb up to the earth's surface through the crevices where the streams sank into the rocks, and attend the dances, *held by moonlight at the time of Tané worship*. And, further, that new banana leaves were always put out for them to dance on, which leaves next morning were found to be still uncrushed and fresh. (This dancing on leaves in the moonlight reminds one of our own "fairy-rings.")

But without doubt Tangaroa was the more powerful, the more universal god throughout the Pacific.¹ Tangaroa the radiant, Tangaroa of the flame-coloured hair, Tangaroa the god of all the seas, the eater of the sun, the wearer of the rainbow. In Samoa he was known as Tangaloa of the eighth Heaven, supreme above all except Io, the motionless impassive deity who was too impersonal to count. Though even in Samoa we find Tangaloa to be essentially the Sea-god, in contrast to Moso the Land-god. In both Tahiti and Tonga Tangaroa was the one who "fished up the island," that myth so universal through the Pacific. In New Zealand he was the great Sea-god, though there it was Maui who actually did the fishing performance. In the Marquesas they have a half-forgotten myth of a deluge, which came about in this manner. Ta'a'oa settled on Fatu-uku Island in that group, and built a great house and made "fishponds" (such

¹ And even in Mantawai Island (Indonesia)—where there is apparently a dropped colony en route of Polynesians—one of the chief gods is "Sangaloa."

“fishponds”—for preserving fish alive till required—were found as cyclopean structures in Hawaii and other places, enormous works left behind by an ancient race about whom but few traditions now remain). Now Tana’oa’s son was one day playing by the fishponds, and in mischief he set free the fish, who swam off in a vast body to the sea. There, off the shore, they so worried Tana’oa’s great shark, who kept perpetual guard over its master’s island, that it lashed out with its tail, and with a mighty blow broke the submerged pillar of rock on which the island was balanced. The result was that most of the island toppled over into the sea and only a small portion—the present island—was left.

It is interesting, in reference to this fable, to note that on Hiva-oa Island (Marquesas), where a valley near Atuona opens out to the sea, there is a submerged landing-place, dimly to be seen at low tide, of huge blocks of stone, laid and fitted so neatly together that they must have surely been built by human hands; while in Taipi Valley, also in the Marquesas, there is an actual tradition of an early race who built such piers and terraces out into the bay. With this people might be compared the forgotten race who built the great stone streets, docks, and causeways, now submerged, of the Caroline Islands.

Just as in Hawaii the ancient god Tané gave place to Tangaloa, so in Tahiti did Tangaloa in his turn give place as the chief god to Oro,¹ who was said to be a

¹ O-ro was said to be O-ro’o, which in the south-eastern Polynesian way had dropped a consonant, and was Ro(ng)o in other parts, which, of course, is the same as Longo or Lono,

son of Tangaloa. And, just as in Hawaii, the newer god it was who was the more ferocious, a god of war and violence, whose worship was marked by human sacrifices.

A little way back I told how Tangaroa at Mangaia Island became the father of two fair-haired children by Hina the Beautiful. This story in different forms is constantly re-appearing, and I think there is no doubt whatever that the Sun-god, whether he be Tané or Tangaroa, is vaguely associated throughout the Pacific with a half-forgotten race of fair people, who are recognized as the senior or more chiefly branch. In Tonga Tangaloa had two sons, the elder being Tubo, who was the ancestor of a fair race, the younger being Vaka-akau-uli, from whom all "natives" were sprung. In New Zealand much the same myth occurs, but Kané is the ancestor of the senior race of fair people. In Mangarewa Island (Paumotu Group) all fair-haired children are said to be "children of Tangaloa," and in many other islands the same idea prevails. It would seem that a nation of light-skinned people, who worshipped the Sun, must have come into the Pacific and subjugated a darker race.¹ One can still see in many islands traces of a distinctly fairer people, the difference being very marked in childhood, and after putting aside all possibilities of a recent strain from modern whites, or temporary hair-bleaching which the natives often practise, there remains this mysterious for whom Captain Cook was mistaken—the mistake being the ultimate cause of his death—at Hawaii.

¹ That ultimately the darker people arose and in their turn vanquished the lighter people is a theory that I shall advance later on in this book.

fair element, with light wavy hair and skins of a pale olive-brown colour, not unlike the men of Southern Italy, that is to be accounted for.

Nor does Tangaloa appear solely in Polynesia. Away to the west in the Melanesian Banks Islands, where so many traces of a non-negroid element appear, we find the myth of the eleven Tangalo brothers of Quat; and Dr. Rivers considers that the Tangaloa cult may have been at one time common to both Melanesia and Polynesia; in other words, to that early people who "buried their dead in a sitting position," and who invaded both Melanesia and Polynesia.

And I am inclined to think that Tangaloa appears under another name as Dauthina (which simply means the "ever-burning" lamp or torch) in Fiji, where the legend has it that he is the great god of the Sea, and of all sailors and fishermen, while he is also associated with a Phallic-cult. He appears with a lambent quivering flame playing round his head,¹ and—like Tané in Mangaia—is "the husband," many of the young women being supposed to fall victim to his charms.² His earthly shrine was a snake (like that of Ratumaibulu, the other Fijian god associated with the Sun or Fire, and Fertility), only—very naturally—in Dauthina's case it was a water-snake, the black and white striped variety found in the reef pools at low tide. It seems to me that throughout the Pacific there appear to have been two "Sun and Fertility"

¹ Is it not possible that the "halo," as an emblem of divinity, was borrowed (like so many other ideas in the early Christian Church) from a pre-Christian Sun-worship?

² See also my *The Lau Islands and their Folk-lore*, page 118.

cults, practised respectively by a seafaring people and a land people, probably at different periods of time; and this may be found to have some bearing on the question of differentiation of races.

Before finally leaving the field of myth one must refer briefly to the "theft-of-fire" story. Prometheus, who stole fire from the other world, seems in the Pacific to have become changed, but in name only; for his exploit is much the same as that credited to the Polynesian god. In the Pacific he is sometimes Maui, sometimes Ti'iti'i, but he always stole the fire from the gods for the benefit of man. In a Maori legend Maui wandered one day to the underworld, and there came upon his grandmother, old Mahuika the Blind, the guardian of the fire. He pretended he wanted a little fire for himself, and persuaded her to let him draw some sparks from her finger nails. He then suggested that he must have it a little stronger, so she drew it from her big toe, whereupon there was a big conflagration and the whole world would have been scorched up had not the gods sent a deluge of rain and put it out. Maui, however, was able to secure a spark, which he concealed in a tree for the benefit of mankind, who can now always get fire by rubbing pieces of wood together!¹ In Mangaia Island he is said to have actually crept upon the god in the

¹ I thought the method extinct in Fiji, but some years ago when I was stationed on the Sigatoka River I was out in the "bush" one day with the cattle-man, searching for one of my cows that had got lost. I wanted to smoke and found I had no matches, neither had Saimoné, when, to my delight, he picked up a couple of dry bits of wood and entirely without suggestion from me sat down and proceeded to produce fire.

underworld who was making fire by rubbing two sticks, and watching unobserved he brought back the secret for mankind for ever. Newman points out a rather remarkable coincidence that the Indian god, Manu or Manui (whom he claims to be, from other evidence, identical with Maui), also stole fire from the underworld.

In Samoa there is a slight variation of the tale, for here we find the fire-thief called Ti'iti'i,¹ but his grandmother Mafuie is practically the same as Mahuika (in Hawaii she is Mahuia'a). Now Ti'iti'i one day followed his father unobserved to the land of Mafuie in the underworld. He cajoled her under false pretences to give him fire, whereupon he and his father sat down to cook some Taro. Mafuie promptly caused the fire to blow up and scatter in all directions, so Ti'iti'i in a rage attacked her, and in his fury wrenched off her right arm. She cried for mercy, and he desisted on the promise of the gift of fire for this world for ever.

The above myths all refer to the *wood-friction* method of obtaining fire (for the old woman with her fingers and arm is surely a dead tree with its branches) ; but F. W. Christian describes a remarkable wood carving from Raratonga Island, which shows in detail the legend of Maui stealing fire, though this time actually *from the Sun itself*. This is such a variation from the usual myth that one wonders whether the

¹ Has this any connection with Iti or Fiti (Fiji) ? Samoa is full of references to Ta-fiti, which was their ancient name for Fiji (the Fijians themselves call their country Viti or Fiti, and the Maoris call it Whiti) and from whence the island Tahiti of the Society Group is thought to have been named.

artist may not have received some idea of it from modern non-Polynesian sources. Otherwise it would seem that there are two myths in the Pacific, one built up to account for the wood-friction method of obtaining fire, and the other a direct descendant of the ancient story of Prometheus.

The connection of Fire-worship and Sun-worship is obvious, and the followers of the Fire-cult have merely specialized in a variety of Sun-worship. The fire was a portion of the divine sun, and as such was equally sacred. In a later chapter on Customs I shall touch on certain practices associated with the Sun and Fire cults, including the famous “fire-walking ceremony.” In this chapter on Myths I will merely mention that there is a legend that in remote ages at Benga Island (Fiji) one of the ancestors of the present tribe was once walking near the shore when he noticed a snake disappearing into a crevice among the stones. He pulled at its tail (without fear, for there are no poisonous snakes in Fiji), but this was a demon snake, more powerful than any yet known. The harder he pulled the harder the snake pulled, and the contest was fairly even, until the man started with his feet to disengage the stones and lay open the crevice. Then the snake gave in, and to the surprise of the man called out in a human voice that he was Vuibenga the god, and that if he were released he would grant the gift of “the freedom of the fire.” So the man wonderingly consented, and his feet were thereupon coated with some of the serpent’s froth; with the result that ever afterwards that man and his descendants were able to walk over red-hot stones with

impunity. (It should be noted that once more, as in the case of the rainbow, it is the *snake* that is associated with the Sun and Fire cult.)

At Faka-ofu, or Bowditch Island (Union Group), Tui Tokelau was the chief god, and he was the god of Fire. Fire was kept burning in his temple at nights, and should any impious trespasser venture in—wrote Turner—it would leap out and consume him. The Faka-ofu people were “descended from the Skies,” Hale was informed (U.S. Exploring Expedition), and curiously enough this island of Sky-descended was one of the places where the pearl-shell cult was very prominent (see *ante*, p. 39).

The other form of Fire-cult, associated with the terrors of active volcanoes, is, I think, quite a different thing, and is only here mentioned in passing. It was, as might be expected, particularly vigorous in volcano-studded Hawaii, but the deity was a goddess, Pelé, and the whole cult was always kept quite distinct from the worship of Tané, who was undoubtedly the Sun-god. So also at the other extremity of the Pacific, at Ambrym in the New Hebrides, the passing of the souls of the dead to the Ambrym volcano is only what one might expect to find in a place where such a powerful natural phenomenon is actually at one's door; even though, in the same Group, we have in the Tamaté secret societies traces of a half-forgotten Sun-cult.

But nevertheless I do not infer that these volcano cults of the Pacific were newly evoked in the Pacific. I consider that the people brought the memories of former volcano myths and religions with them from their previous homes, from Indonesia, and even beyond;

and that where, in the Pacific, they happened to settle on islands which possessed volcanoes, there the cult became firmly established ; while in other islands it was quickly forgotten. And once again I would repeat that the people arrived in the Pacific in different relays and at different periods of time, bringing with them different specialized cults, even though they were originally all one people, following one main theme of religious worship.

CHAPTER VI

GLIMPSES OF HISTORY FROM GENEALOGIES AND OTHER FAMILY RECORDS

WE are now able to pass from the misty and indefinite realm of myth to definite tradition, national history, and the proved genealogies of a people who jealously preserved such things as an integral part of their religious obligations. Such a people were the "Polynesians," so called to distinguish them from the Melanesians; though the recent researches of Rivers and others have shown us that the race we mean, as well as spreading over the Eastern and Southern Pacific, ran through and blended with the people hitherto called "the Melanesians," and even infringed on the coastal territories of the "Papuan." But the intermingling, especially of the later Polynesians, with the negroid people of Melanesia and Papua has been so slight that those districts can show us very little of the mythology, and practically none of the tradition and history, of the intruding race of light-skinned people who paused there for a time during their great journey.

The whole scheme of existence of the Melanesians was opposed to any purposeful preservation of national history, and it is only by infinite patience and a minute

and careful study of custom that those searchers in the Melanesian field have been able to glean for us what few fragments we now possess. In a people who follow the practice of descent through the female line, and where it was seldom that a father knew which among the tribe were his own sons,¹ it was not to be expected that genealogical history and family pedigrees would be studied as they were in a nation of chiefs proud of their ancient lineage.

But even with the Polynesians—a nation without the preserving help of script to perpetuate their history for all time—one could not expect to obtain any records if one judged them only from the European standpoint. But the more one studies the subject the more one realizes how impossible the European standpoint is, and how necessary it is to approach the problem with a mind freed from the shackles of two thousand years of “the writing habit.” People who “make a memo” of every triviality cast away the god-given gift of “memory,” and cannot realize to what a marvellous extent that particular sense may be trained in a nation of memory-users.

Though it is hardly right to say that the Polynesians had no script, in their earlier days in the Pacific they seem to have brought with them from their former home distinct traces of the art of writing; which, unfortunately, with the degeneration of the people (for an insular, narrowed life undoubtedly *did* cause degeneration) has now been lost. In one of the “memorized histories” of the Maori branch of the Polynesians we learn that Tamatea, one of the leaders

¹ As in the Banks Islands.

of an early expedition to New Zealand,¹ immediately after landing dug out a cave "to preserve the *tuhi-tuhi*² (writings) brought with them "from beyond Hawaiki."

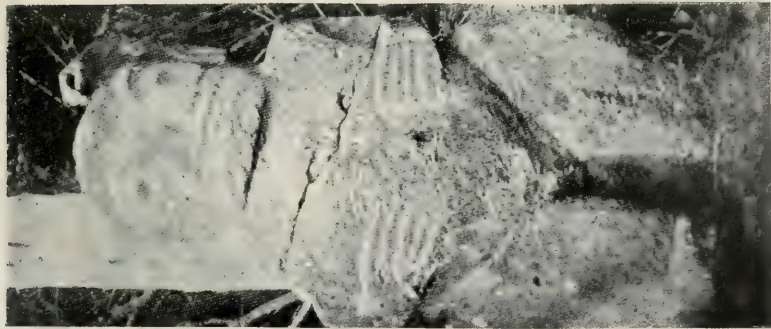
In a similar way the first business of Lutu-na-sombua, the earliest explorer and ancestor in Fiji, who had met a storm at sea, was to send back a canoe in the faint hope that the box containing the precious "stone writings" might still be afloat.³

At the Chatham Islands and the Caroline Islands there are said to be found very primitive rock-carved scripts; and Ellis, in his *Tour of Hawaii*, 1826, writes: ". . . Along the south coast we frequently saw lines, semi-circles, and rings, with some rude imitations of human figures carved on the rocks . . . and sometimes a fish." Then there were the more highly developed Easter Island scripts (carved, too, but this time in local wood), which also consisted of rude imitations of human figures, birds, and fish. More has probably been written about this mysterious picture-writing of Easter Island than anything else in the Pacific. It is also found carved and painted on the rocks there, so no special significance can be attached to its being done upon wooden tablets (probably discovered to be more convenient and portable) except that those still existing cannot therefore be very ancient, for even in the comparatively dry climate of Easter Island any

¹ He came in the *Takitumu*, one of the canoes of "The Fleet," in A.D. 1350.

² It seems possible that *TUHI-TUHI* means literally the chiselled, or mallet-struck inscriptions, which would then be graven tablets of stone like the old Hebrew ones in the Bible. The word *TUKI-TUKI* in Fijian would allow of this meaning.

³ See *The Fijians*, by B. H. Thomson.



MARQUESAN STONE IMAGE.

(Photo from "Sunshine and Surf.")



EASTER ISLAND STONE IMAGE IN
BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Photo by Author.)



PERUVIAN STONE IMAGE.

(Photo by A. W. Hill, Esq.)

wood must inevitably go through that rapid decaying process that is peculiar to a combination of sea-air and tropics.

The Routledge expedition, which recently did such splendid work on Easter Island, may have got as near to the truth of it as anybody, when they state that the separate figures probably had not a continuous meaning, but were used as aids to memory in making the long recitations at special ceremonies. Dr. Carroll is among those who claim to have actually translated the tablets, and he says they are a series of prayers and incantations to the Sun-god, the sacred Fire, the royal Turtle, and the Ancestors. The editor of *Le Revue de l'Ecole D'Anthropologie* (May 1910) stated that they were of a pattern found in South America, like the Quichua language, and of the period of the most recent kings of Cuzco.

The question of the native name of the island (Rapa-nui, or Great Rapa) may have some significance—Rapa Iti or Little Rapa lies a considerable distance to the west of it; and a common-sense way of looking at things would be that a people would be very likely to call their first home as “Great so-and-so,” and their subsequent home as “New or Little so-and-so,” irrespective of the actual size of the islands, even if they were capable of measuring them. This would imply a direction of journey from the *East*. Next we find that the name in Peru for a turtle or tortoise is Rapa; and further that the islands en route between Peru and Easter are the Galapagos Islands, where the extraordinary giant tortoise is so marked a feature. But there the land will not sustain man, so wayfarers would

have had to push on to some new island. It is possible that at Easter Island they also found the giant tortoise abundant, so abundant as to cause them to call it the island of Rapa ; but being able to settle on this fertile island they would in time exterminate them. This is merely a theory of my own. There are many other links with Peru in eastern Polynesia, so many that it is impossible altogether to dismiss the idea that there may have been some connection ; but whether the people (or part of the people), passed right on in their great " trek " across the Pacific from Indonesia and actually reached Peru, or whether it was the other way round, and eastern Polynesia was in the first place populated from Peru, is not a problem to be enlarged upon in the present chapter. There were, no doubt, not one but several migrations to Easter Island, and by quite different races of people.

Regarding one of these migrations we have a definite tradition at Rapa-iti in the Austral Group of one party having been driven away from that island about twenty-two generations ago and going to " Rapanui," where they killed off all the " long-ears " except the women, and settled there. One may suppose the " long-ears " to have been the slit-eared people of a Melanesian ancestry from the west, or equally from a Peruvian ancestry—also slit-eared—from the east. In 1722 (which would be about eight Pacific generations ago) Roggeveen, the Dutch discoverer of Easter Island, was told by the inhabitants that their fathers came from somewhere in the Austral Group, which certainly bears out the tradition of that particular migration.

Moreover, the stone images and platforms in the Austral Group, Pitcairn Island, and the Marquesas are very like those of Easter Island, and still more so like those of Peru. The profiles of the Easter Island images are different, and the "bird-man convention due to Melanesian influence" theory as elaborated by the Routledges and H. A. Balfour is probably a correct explanation of this profile; but the long ears, protruding lips, short arms, position of the hands, and stunted legs in the three illustrations I give from the Marquesas, Easter Island, and Peru are absurdly alike, except that the island ones are naturally more primitive and crude than that of the mainland.¹

To return to the question of the inscriptions, the peculiar thing about them is that they are done in the "boustrophedon" form of writing, i.e., that to read every alternate line one must turn the tablet upside down. Now there seems little doubt that the Polynesian race came into the Pacific through Indonesia, pausing at various islands (where they have left traces) on their way. One of these is the Celebes, and the Bugis, a people in the Celebes who might well be descen-

¹ The illustration of the Easter Island image is of the one standing in the portico of the British Museum (brought to England by H.M.S. *Topaze* in 1868), but this particular image has a history different from the other Easter Island ones, as it was found preserved inside a house—not on a great stone platform out in the open like the others—and moreover far removed from the place where the others were. Added to which, the general shape, except for the profile, seems to be different to the others (see another illustration of a typical Easter Island image given here). Is it possible that this differentiated and secluded image belonged to a different migration, more directly connected with the Marquesas or Peru, and not with the "Melanesian influence" that governed the others?

dants of the ancient Polynesians, use this same "boustrophedon" way of writing. In the intervening stopping places writing was forgotten, perhaps through absence of materials, perhaps through general degeneration, perhaps because the professional writers (not every one would know how to write) did not go with those particular migrations, or quickly met their deaths. It is possible that one quick migration across the Pacific¹ to Easter Island had among the party a writer who, with his descendants, was able to keep alive this "boustrophedon" writing among the people. Moreover, the *method* of the writing may have been brought from, for instance, the Celebes, but the actual *glyphs* may have been adopted from "the Melanesian influence."

We must now leave the problems of Easter Island, fascinating as they are, for other parts of the Pacific, where there are also faint traces of a lost art of writing. In 1909 or 1910 M. Archambault, a member of the New Caledonian Civil Service, created a certain stir in the French scientific world by publishing an account of some stone writings he had discovered there. I should like to have given an illustration of them here, but have been unable to obtain a photograph. He claims to have been able to recognize letters that might have sprung from Phœnician, Aramaic, or even Hellenic scripts. There is, I think, no doubt that a certain amount of Semitic influence has at one time

¹ Some of the migrations took centuries to cross the Pacific, stopping a long time at many islands en route; others may have crossed in a few weeks or months. Much depended on the help of a gale behind them, the strength and inhospitality of the aborigines on the intervening islands, and many other things.



LONG-EARED STONE IMAGE, EASTER ISLAND.

(By permission of Mrs. Rouledge.)

To face p. 82.

in its previous history affected the ancestors of the peoples of the Pacific. This fits in with Fornander's theory.

Then there are the traces in South-East New Guinea of an alien people, and in Haddon's *Evolution in Art* is shown a picture of a girl from Motu district, seen before there was any frequent or real contact with Europeans, whose arm has tatu'd upon it a pattern that is too like a regular script to be a mere coincidence. The letters run from above downwards, and are joined by a line along the tops; and Hamilton, who has studied the subject, stated that they were similar letters to some carved on the ancient inscribed stone column of Asoka, a Maurya¹ king in Northern India.

Finally there are the tatu signs of the Maoris of New Zealand. Certain of these were distinctly of a hieroglyphic nature, and were used by the chiefs, at the signing of a famous treaty with the English, to denote their signatures, and always recognized by the whole people.

So much for traces of the lost art of writing, so far lost that in most island groups it might never have been. I found the following amusing sentence in an old missionary book: "A South Sea chief once saw the Rev. John Williams make some marks on a piece

¹ It has been shown, with a considerable probability of truth, that the Maoris of the Pacific were descendants of the Mauryas of India and Burma, a people who lived there before the present Indians and Burmese.—(See Smith's *Hawaiki*, and Newman's *Who are the Maoris?*). In Arakan, says Newman, there is a tribe of Mauris who worship "Karnie" (Kané), and the Rising Sun, and have other Polynesian customs.

of wood, and was then asked to take it to Mrs. Williams. She looked at it, gave the chief an axe, and threw the bit of wood away. He saw that it had procured an axe, so he picked it up, made a hole in it, and hung it round his neck for future use, anticipating an unlimited supply of axes."

But if they had no writing they certainly had other aids to memory. I have mentioned, on page 23, the Maori genealogical memory-staff now in the British Museum; in other places knotted cords were used, as were used of old in Peru (the Quipu system), and as, indeed, were used by an illiterate old white store-keeper on Nayau Island (Fiji), not so many years ago, to keep his accounts. "Tally-sticks" were used in Fiji, as in old-time England, for a census of the people under Government supervision, as late as two decades ago; and a Fijian to this day will remember a long message by bits of sticks of different lengths.

It was therefore possible, by such extraneous aids, to memorize vast records of tribal history extending back into the ancient past, if there were any special incentives to do so. And the two great incentives were chiefly Pride and Religious Duty. These were aided by a rigid and inflexible law of Custom, which held, and still holds, these South Sea peoples in iron bonds, and orders all their daily lives.

"It was the custom of our forefathers" is an almost daily remark with them, and nothing more need be said!

Chiefs were sprung from the Ancestors, the Ancestors were the Gods. And as all the true Polynesians (apart from conquered alien races) were in some way related



TATU OF A MAORI CHIEF : HORI GATA OF TAURANGA, NEW ZEALAND.

(By permission of the Agent-General of New Zealand.)



to the chiefs, all felt their divine origin in a varying degree, all were filled with the pride of race. Yet with all this there was in every one so much of that courtesy and good manner that goes with gentle birth throughout the world, of that polished ease and refinement of character that is the mark of breeding, that the pride of the Polynesian was seldom offensive or bombastic. As for the religious incentive, to remember the Ancestors and the lineage leading up to them was a sacred duty ; to forget them, an offence to call down divine wrath. Little wonder, then, that in the temples this was the first business of the priests, that in the priestly “ colleges,” or Whare-kura (which were built to face the Sun), this was the first thing to be mastered. And partly because it was a sacred duty to perpetuate—by passing the records on from generation to generation—the noble deeds that each ancestor had done, and partly because such occurrences helped in the memorizing of what would otherwise have been long strings of names, a little of the personal history of each ancestor was embodied in the recitation. The work was arduous for the pupils, but it was considered a necessary work ; and, moreover, the help of the gods aided them in their labours. To obtain the divine “ Mana,” or influence, the youths, while learning from the priests, used to take two small sacred pebbles, specially consecrated for that purpose, and called Whatu-kura, and kept one in the mouth and the other in one hand all the time the priest was teaching them. Their studies commenced at the rising of the Sun, and ended when the Sun reached its zenith.

•

Tati Salmon, the son of a white man who married a Tahitian princess, took a particular interest in the ancient history of his mother's people, and secured, before it was too late, much valuable information about the olden days (on the many centuries of whose history the insignificant last fifty years or so of mixture with the European has been nearly sufficient to close the door for all time). In the *Transactions of the Polynesian Society*, 1910, he wrote :

" . . . For the social rank of the chiefs of these islands was so well known and so easily learned that few serious mistakes could be possible. On this foundation genealogy grew into a science, and was the only science in the islands which could fairly claim rank with the intellectual work of other countries. Genealogy swallowed up history and made law a field of its own. Chiefs might wander off to far-distant islands and be lost for generations, but if their descendants came back and could prove their right to a seat in the family temple, they were admitted to all the privileges and property which belonged to them by inheritance. On the other hand, if they failed in their proofs and turned out to be impostors, they were put to death without mercy. Relationships were asserted and contested with the seriousness of legal titles, and were often matters of life and death. Every family kept its genealogy a secret to protect itself from impostors, and all members of the family united to keep it pure."

In the Polynesian kava circle (itself a semi-religious ceremony) the strictest accuracy was necessary as to the order of precedence, and the herald—whose office

was hereditary—had to be a complete master of all the tribal genealogies. Even in Fiji to-day, so strong is the Polynesian portion of their ancestry still felt, the natives observe very carefully the correct order.

Now these Polynesian genealogical “histories,” handed down as a sacred duty from one generation to another, and learned painfully and laboriously in youth with deadly accuracy under the double threat of condign punishment from the teachers and a fatal infliction from the gods, were, as mentioned above, jealously guarded as tribal secrets. It was only on the rare occasions when a white man, through direct marriage into the inner circle of chiefs, became a recognized chief of the tribe, that the histories were divulged to a member of the outer world. And it had to be a white man of discernment and educational attainments to appreciate the nature of the information he was receiving. And, further, he had to be living among the natives before much contact with the “civilized” world and the missionaries had killed their respect for the old institutions and dulled their memories of the ancient past.

Such a man was Judge Fornander, of Hawaii: and living among the Hawaiians as he did for nearly fifty years in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, he, in a unique way, fulfilled all these conditions, and, fortunately for the scientific world, he made the study and collection of the “histories” his life’s work, a monument of which is his *Account of the Polynesian Race*, in three volumes, published in 1878. But, as he himself confessed, he knew only the Hawaiians

(and how well he knew them!) the rest of the Polynesians he had had no chances of studying. The branches of New Zealand, Marquesas, Cook Islands, and the Tonga-Fiji-Somoa group, were practically a sealed book to him.

Other workers of fifty years ago had been busy, however, notably Sir George Grey in New Zealand and the Rev. W. Gill in the Cook Islands; but, it will be noticed, almost entirely with the aspect of Mythology. The genealogical histories were still closed to the white man, the fear of the punishment of the gods was still strong. It is only within, roughly, the last twenty years that the priests, the preservers of the genealogies and the last upholders of the faith, have overcome their fear of retribution, their shackles of custom, and their scruples of race, and have been persuaded to disclose the knowledge of tribal history of which they were the guardians.

The Polynesians Society, with headquarters in New Zealand, started some thirty years ago, has gleaned much valuable information and achieved excellent results, and has been able to check its findings by genealogies gathered from different sources, not only in New Zealand, but other groups of the Pacific. From a careful study of these they have decided to set a Polynesian "generation" at twenty-five years instead of the usual thirty years of Europe; and most of Fornander's results have been corrected accordingly; but the checking of Hawaiian, Tahitian, Cook Islands, and New Zealand genealogies against each other (for the older ones started, of course, from the same ancestry) have produced data of surprising accuracy. One may

mention here that in order to establish the very important date when "the fleet" of Polynesians first came to New Zealand to settle there, more than fifty genealogies from different sources were taken and carefully compared and checked together. The result (at the twenty-five year generation) gives the date at A.D. 1350; which may now be regarded as a fixed date in New Zealand history.

The memories of the older chiefs have been found to be truly remarkable. One old Maori recited to Mr. S. P. Smith, the President of the Society, the list of all the members of his tribe—not merely his father, grandfather, etc., but every collateral—for thirty-four generations back, seven hundred names in all. Another one dictated to Mr. Elsdon Best (who, like Fornander, has lived much among the natives and has gathered invaluable information) some four hundred of the ancient songs, with full details.

And the genealogies have been checked, not only in a local district of New Zealand, not only over the whole of New Zealand itself, but actually group against group throughout the Pacific. For instance, certain of the Maori, Cook Islands, Tahitian, and Hawaiian genealogies have at least two common ancestors (before there was much splitting up of the race), and there has been found to be practically no difference in their tables of descent, as given by separate natives from these separate islands (who hardly realize that such other islands exist), for a period extending over twenty-five generations!

Of course there is a limit to all things, and just as even our own written records are not invariably reliable

back into, say, Saxon, times, so these fixed tribal histories can only be considered reliable where fully checked. The Marquesan genealogies go back to seventy-four generations, the Cook Islands ones to ninety-one, and the Moriori of the Chatham Islands and the Rotuman ones are actually said to go back to one hundred and five and one hundred and six generations respectively! The Tongan ones extend to thirty-five generations, the Tahitian to forty, and the Samoan to fifty-five, but the latter are only considered reliable up to about forty. But taking them all round, I think that the genealogies can be fairly well relied on in most island groups for a period of forty generations or so.

In making the long voyages of colonization, the voyages of their great "trek," they were especially careful to keep accurate details and to hand the data down to their descendants. It was the proud history of their race. The names of the vessels were recorded, the names of the chiefs and their wives, and even the names of the steersmen. Many separate families would go in these large vessels, and each man with his wife and children would have a portion of the thwarts allotted to him. A Tahitian "history" records that certain canoes started on a voyage from Tahiti well provisioned for a long expedition, a journey of exploration, but with every intention of returning. The names of the canoes and the people were preserved in the traditional song, taught by the priests and elders from one generation to another. *But they never returned.*

Many generations afterwards, investigation of the

Cook Islands histories brought to light the record of *these same canoes and same people* having safely arrived at Raratonga (Cook Islands), with full details in a manner that only the Polynesian delights in !

In this way the following scraps of history have been worked out. Fornander considers that the time between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries A.D. was for Hawaii the golden period of "voyaging," or perhaps rather of arrivals of their cousins from other parts, for the Hawaiians themselves seem to have remained, satisfied, on their own islands, with the occasional exception of some purely adventurous wanderer. The Hawaiian records show many instances of long and successful voyages from Tahiti, Marquesas, and all parts of the Pacific. Then, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, all arrivals seem to have stopped ; and the probable explanation is this : The Hawaiian Islands were large and fertile, hence there was room for all, and no urgent demand to seek new homes, no need to fight for existence in their present one. Consequently the Hawaiians themselves did not go in much for "exploration." On the other hand, the smaller islands of Tahiti, the Marquesas, etc., probably became over-populated (especially with the wasteful ideas of cultivation that the Polynesian has always practised), and their inhabitants wandered about the Pacific, settling perhaps on Hawaii for a time, but before death longing to revisit the old home, and generally doing so. But in 1350, when New Zealand was opened up as a fresh country, a larger and more fertile land than any they had yet known, all prowes were turned in that direction ; but being a

country so far off it was very rarely that a return voyage was made, even to their own islands, still less on a mere pleasure visit to Hawaii.

But before the twelfth century both the Hawaiians and Marquesans have histories of their great journey into and across the Pacific. Some of the most interesting of these are what have been called the "logs" of the voyage. There are two main "logs"—showing a variation in the calling-places—preserved by the descendants of two separate migrations which took place, possibly at an interval of time, or possibly simultaneously, to the Marquesas Group, the fleet getting separated by gales en route. These give the ancient forgotten names of the places stopped at, and if they could only be definitely located many doubts would be set at rest. The two "logs" are as follows, and are called the Atea and the Tani log respectively. (T and K are interchangeable in Hawaiian, and Atea is also found as Akea, Wakea, and Vatea).

<i>Atea log</i>	<i>Tani log</i>
From Take-hihi we went to	From Take-hihi we went to
Aki-tai	Aki-tai
then (a long' journey) to	then (a long journey) to
Ao-nu'u	Ao-nu'u
then (by sea) to	then (by sea) to
Papa-nui	Papa-nui
and	and
Take-hi to	Take-hi to
—	Ho-vau
—	Nini-oe
—	Ao-ewa
Ani-také	Ani-také

Atea log—[contd.]*Tani log*—[contd.]

—
—
Hawaii (. . . " where were vol-
canoes and storms ")

Hovau
Vevau

Tu-uma (Rotuma)
Mea-ai (? Vanau Levu, Fiji)
Fiti-nui (Fiti Levu, Fiji)
Mata-hou (Matuku Island)
Tona-nui (Tonga)
Mau-ewa (at Huahine Island,
Society Group)
Pi-ina
and over the ocean to
Ao-Ma'ama (Marquesas)

Tu-uma
Mea-ai
Fiti-nui
Mata-hou
Tona-nui
Mau-ewa

Pi-ina

Ao-Ma'ama

It will be noticed that after Take-hi the journeys diverged till they met again at Ani-také, where they again separated till Tu-uma was reached. I have placed in brackets some suggestions as to which these calling places might be; the Hawaii in the Atea log is unlikely to be the Hawaiian Islands, and since it also has "volcanoes" it may be probably some place-name, now lost, in the New Hebrides. It is considered by Fornander, S. P. Smith, Newman, and others who have studied the subject that the "histories" point to the Polynesian exodus from Indonesia to the Pacific having taken place between the first and third centuries A.D.; and this follows upon the recorded period of invasion of Indonesia, and especially Java, by Hindus from India—who presumably drove the Polynesians before them.

There were, of course, different Polynesian "waves," at different periods, into the Pacific along this main route, and I am inclined to think, for reasons given in a later chapter on place-names, that there was a

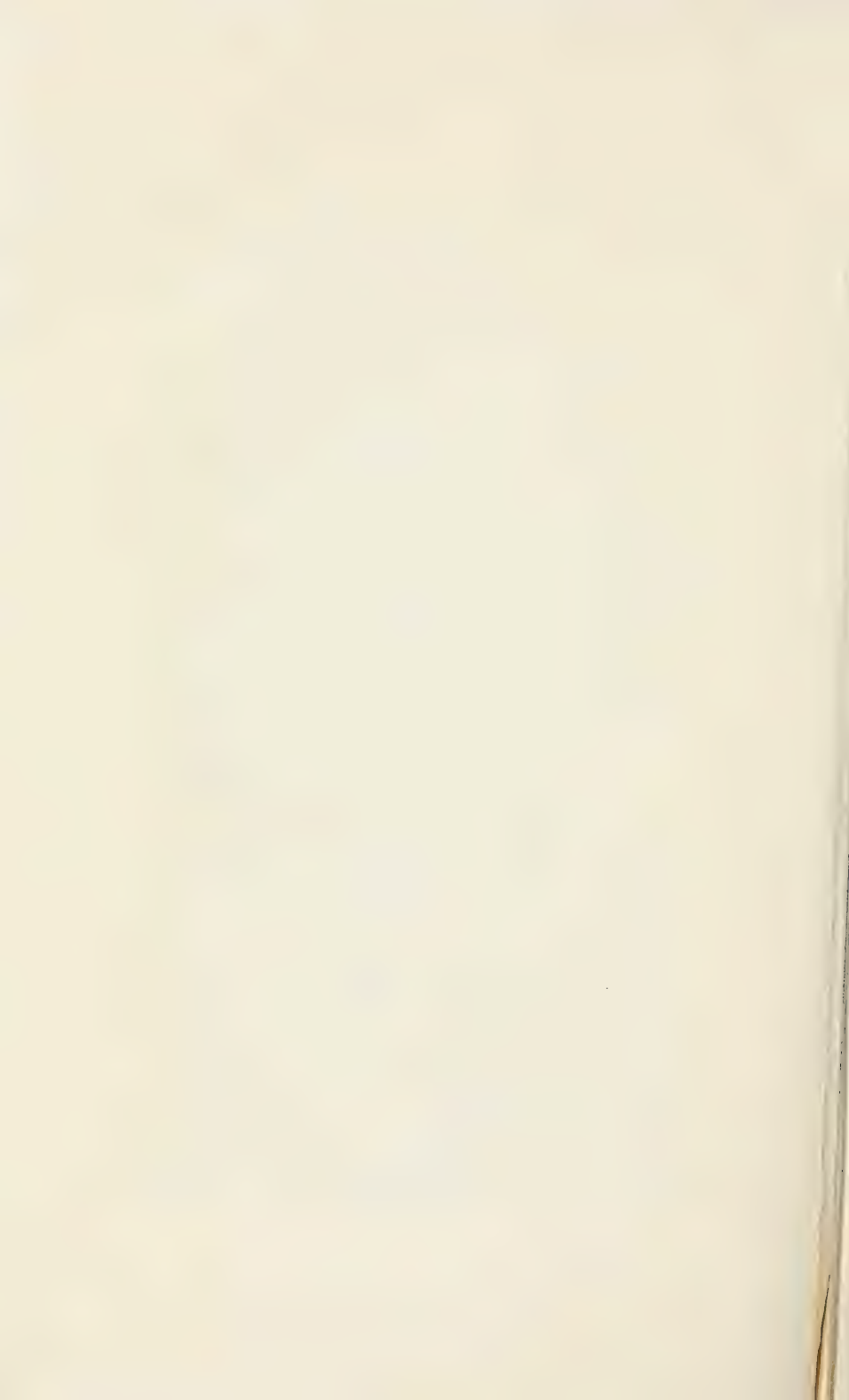
very early one into Hawaii along a northern deflection of the route, via the Caroline Islands. (Wakea or Atea, from whom the Atea "log" is derived, and who is by the genealogies dated about the end of the fourth century, found "a kindred people" already there.)¹

¹ Strange how the cycles of the ages still move on! In 1917 I came over to the war with a contingent of native Fijians, and stopping a day at Honolulu we were entertained at a feast by native Hawaiians, in whom the Fijians found a hospitable kinsfolk, and many words of whose language they were quickly able (especially the Eastern Fijians) to pick up.



A DANCE IN OTAHEITE, SHOWING "THE LACED, SKIN-COVERED DRUMS."

(From a first edition of *Capt. Cook's Voyages*.)



CHAPTER VII

GLIMPSES OF HISTORY (*continued*)

ANOTHER early wave was that which ultimately colonized New Zealand ; because there it is, more than anywhere else, that one finds such close kinship with ancient Indian mythology, art, and customs, so ancient that they could not have been picked up by mixing with the more modern Indians who came down on Java in the first century A.D., but must have been derived from an earlier association with “ pre-Indians ” if one may use the expression—in Burma and India itself. (This would be the “ overland ” migration that I mentioned at page 46.) The “ log ” of this journey gives the following order of calling places :

Hono-i-wairua
Tawhiti-pa-mamao
Tawhiti-roa
Tawhiti-nui
(to New Zealand)

Then there was another distinctly later migration into Hawaii direct from Tahiti, of which much evidence may be gathered from tradition, custom, and stone remains.¹ The people of this Tahitian invasion brought

¹ This migration from Tahiti would seem to have been composed of a more negroid, Melanesian-tinged race. Tradition on Hawaii has it that Hawaiian chiefs are descended from Wakea

with them many new ideas, including the system of Moi or Suzerain chiefs, replacing the ancient "Hau" or priest-kings (called "Sau" in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa Group); the separation of the temporal and spiritual kingship; the "committee of nobility," which bolstered up and set apart by dress, observance, and in every possible way the "nobles"; the laced, skin-covered drums, replacing the hollow wooden "tree-gongs" (which are still used in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa Group); the elevation to supreme rank of the god Tangaroa; the institution of human sacrifices; and the walled-in "heiau" temples, replacing the old open pyramids.¹

And a rather puzzling "log" is that given by old people of Raratonga (Cook Islands) as the journey of their ancestors before reaching Samoa. It is as follows:—

Atia-te-varinga-nui, which S. P. Smith thinks is India		
Avaiki-te-varinga	„	„ Java
Iti-nui	„	„ another part of Java
Papua	„	„ some island north of Fiji
Enua-kura	„	„ Papua
Avaiki	„	„ Savaii, Samoa
Kuporu	„	„ Upolu, Samoa
Manuka	„	„ Manu'a, Samoa

(cf. the "log" of Atea) who may be the same as Vatea the god, whereas Hawaiian commoners are descended from this Tahitian migration. ". . . a number of canoes from Tahiti finding the Sandwich Isles inhabited only by gods, asked their permission and settled on one of the bigger islands. . . ."—an old legend in Ellis's *Tour through Hawaii*.

¹ Fornander's *Polynesian Race*.

I myself am inclined to think that between "Avaiki-te-varinga" and "Iti-nui" there should be a gap, i.e., that some portion of the "log" has been lost, and that Iti-nui is Fiji (Viti Levu). "Papua" may be Bua, an ancient district on Vanua Levu Island; Enea Kura,¹ is Taveuni Island; and Avaiki, Kuporu and Manuka are the Samoan Islands as given above.

In a Paumotu tradition one of the calling-places is "Iti-nui, with its king, Tangaroa-menehuné." He is shown on the Tahitian genealogies to be forty-two generations ago, or about A.D. 950—the beginning of the second period of migration starting from Fiji.² But between the fifth and tenth centuries we have records of other great chiefs who flourished in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa Group, the earliest being Tu-tarangi, who must have been one of the first arrivals, and whom the genealogies date about A.D. 450. Then, during Tu-tarangi's time, we find that another chief, Ari, built a wonderful stone house at Samoa, which had stone pillars, stone beams, and stone rafters, and "there was a stream running through it." One glimpses here an Eastern courtyard with a cooling stream, possibly a fountain, diverted for the chief's pleasure.

About this time there appear to have been quarrels and warfare between the various Polynesian chiefs who had begun to colonize these rich and fertile lands;

¹ "Enea Kura" was said to be the island where the much-prized scarlet parrot feathers were obtained. Taveuni has been famous for these from time immemorial. It is quite possible that New Guinea may have been called Enea Kura as well, as the same name was often given to stopping places en route. But in this case it seems to me that Taveuni fits in better.

² K. Newman's, *Who are the Maoris?*

and very possibly the aborigines (from whom there had probably been wrested only a very precarious foothold along the coasts) would seize the opportunity to come down in force from the hills and add to the general discomfort. The consequence was that there followed a period of dispersal and migration from Fiji, though a few important chiefs still held their own for many generations to come, the old stock, however, gradually getting more and more "Melanesianized" until the blend of "Fijian"—as we know him to-day—was formed. (I think the recent "backwash" from Tonga of the few Tongan rovers who visited Fiji in search of good canoes during the period of about 1750 to 1850 had but little real effect on the race. The more refined, more "Polynesian," physical appearances of the Bau people,¹ who came down from the hills to settle on the coast towards the end of the eighteenth century, is, I consider, due to the fact that they are hybrid descendants of *some branch of the ancient Polynesians* who, at the time of the Melanesian overflow, did not put to sea like the others, but escaped to the hills and settled there, too strong to be exterminated, and who—blood will tell—eventually came into their own once more. I state this with all diffidence—I believe it is the first time such a theory has been put forward—but it seems to me not altogether improbable.)²

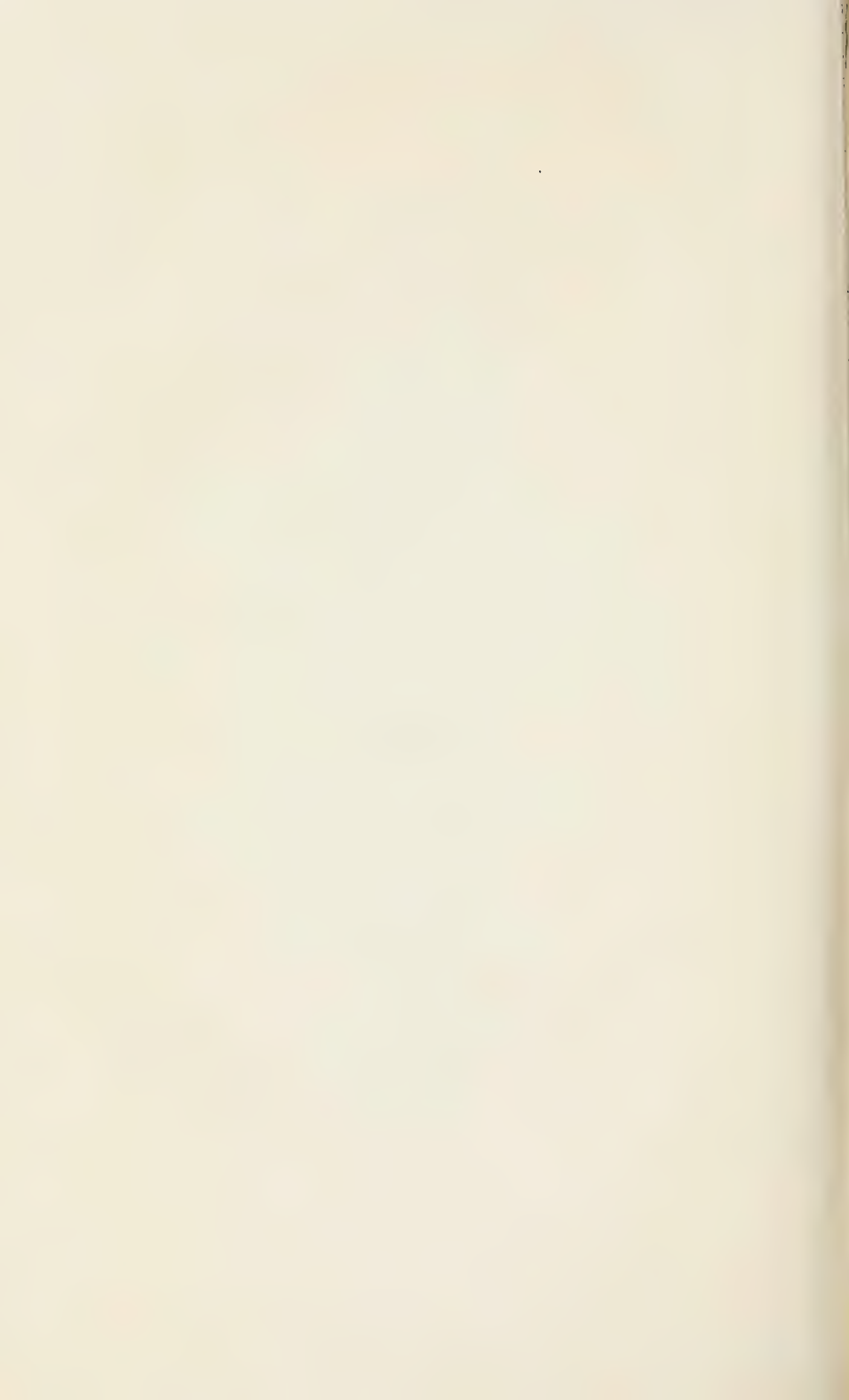
¹ The Bau people, it is hardly necessary to state to those who have had anything to do with the Pacific, are the ruling race of modern Fiji, and it was their chief, Thakombau, who was acknowledged, perhaps wrongfully, by the whites, as "King of all Fiji," and who ceded the group to Great Britain in 1875.

² It would seem that much the same thing happened at Saa, in Malaita Island, Solomon Group, where—eleven generations



ON THE COAST OF TAVEUNI ISLAND, FIJI, THE MOUNTAIN-TOP HIDDEN IN THE MIST.

To face p. 98.



One of the well-known chiefs in Fiji in those early days was Tu-tonga-kai-a-iti, who was driven to Tonga about A.D. 600, and it was about the same time or a little later that the famous Ui-te-rangiora, the explorer, commenced his wonderful voyages in search of new lands; one of his journeys towards the far south I have already mentioned on page 44.

Another famous chief, Tawake, whose name is constantly appearing in the traditions, and who was a great navigator, appears to have lived in Fiji about A.D. 750. He ascended the mountain of "Whiti-hana," and Matuku and Benga¹ Islands (Peka in Polynesian) are mentioned in connection with his name.

There is a long story that about A.D. 850 a chieftainess named Akapura lived with her ten brothers (probably some were cousins, called "brothers" in the Polynesian way) at Hapa'i Island, Tonga. They became very jealous of her son, who had grown to manhood skilled in all arts of warfare, and whose influence they apparently had begun to fear; and one day they killed him. She at once gathered together what forces she could, especially the help of a powerful relative from Samoa, and at the first battle they were able to kill three of the "brothers." The tradition says that her Samoan ally—typical warrior of the day—called out: "But now let us swallow their

ago—a tribe having "chiefs" and "patriarchal descent" and other Polynesian customs came down from the hills and conquered the coast people and still remain there as the predominant tribe.

¹ This is the Benga Island that will be mentioned later in connection with a fire-walking ceremony.

eyeballs, as a token to Orokeva of how the rest will be crushed in my mouth," and proceeded to do so!¹ But the point of the story is that the remainder, with their followers, fled in an easterly direction and became the first Polynesian colonizers of the Cook Islands. And the Cook Islanders say that their forefathers were a peaceable folk and knew not warfare till these Tongans came among them with their iron-wood clubs and introduced real fighting.²

Now we come to an important time in the history of Samoa. There appear to have been two big migrations from Samoa to Tonga, probably neither of them voluntary, as " . . . a migration induced by an attraction is rare as compared with that produced by an expulsion" (A. C. Haddon, *Wanderings of Peoples*).

One of these migrations is thought to have taken place in the time of the second Tui Tonga, which is stated to have been thirty-four generations before the death of King George Tupou in 1893. This would bring it to about A.D. 1050, and the same account would have it that the Haamonga, the great trilithon of Tonga, was built by these people.

Of the other migration we have a more definite account. It would appear that the pure Polynesians (whom we will call here the "Tonga-Fiti" people)

¹ Though quite apart from this there was a definite reason for swallowing the eyeball of a slain foe, which I will discuss in a later chapter. The reason, briefly, was to acquire certain moral virtues, such as valour, etc., which the slain man had. Also, by incorporating some of him inside oneself to prevent his ghost from harming one.

² The supposition being that the soft-wood staves they had hitherto used might disable but seldom killed.

were settled in strength in a part of Savaii, and had overcome the neighbouring peoples (whom we may suppose were a mixture of another drift of Polynesians with the earlier Melanesian element,¹ and whose chief was Savea, the first Malietoa) sufficiently to exact tribute from them. Malietoa's people had probably been gathering in strength for some time, and one day his two sons, on taking the tribute in to their oppressors, deliberately pulled up the Le-ale-a, or iron-wood mooring-stick, of the Tongan chief's canoe, which act was considered a deadly insult. It was a declaration of rebellion, and in the battles that followed Malietoa's party gained the upper hand and drove the "Tonga-Fiti" out of Samoa to Tonga, eventually enforcing a treaty by which the expelled people undertook "never to return to Samoa except in peace," which treaty, probably through necessity, has always been kept.²

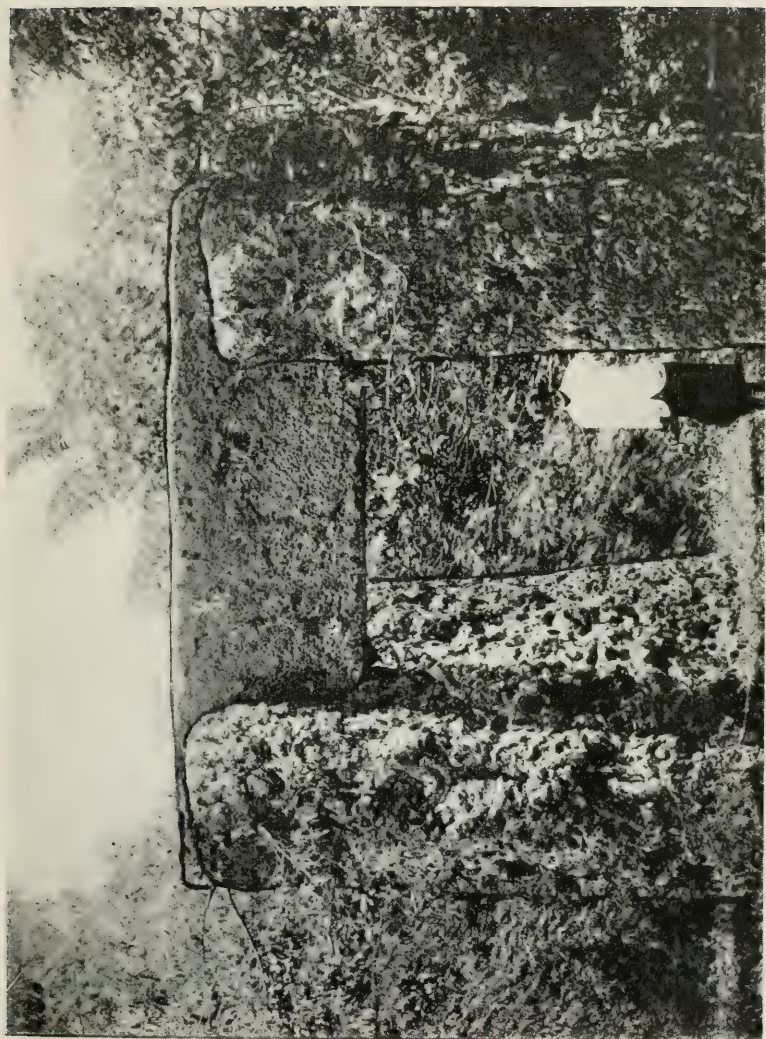
Now the time of the first Malietoa is said to be about A.D. 1250, and the last high-priest of Raratonga stated that according to the Raratongan "histories" the trilithon was built in the time of Makea Karika, of

¹ One comes to this conclusion not only from the distinct "negroid" and non-Polynesian traces in the Samoans of to-day, who are not at all like, for instance, the Hawaiians, Tahitians, or Cook Islanders, but also because they have, and had, no great traditional histories of journeys from some former home, as all the rest of the Polynesians have. It would seem that wherever the Melanesian element becomes strong the gift of memory—even in the remaining Polynesian element of the new type produced—becomes obliterated.

² They may not all have fled to Tonga. Tradition says that the Ellice Group was peopled from Samoa "about twenty-seven generations ago," and if not the exact date it was evidently owing to some dispersal-causing disturbances at Samoa about that time.

both Samoa and Raratonga, whose date by the genealogies works out at about A.D. 1250. Matéialonga, late Governor of Hapai, informed Sir Basil Thomson that it was built in the time of Tui-Ta-tui, which is about A.D. 1350; but if the one set of genealogies has been worked out on the thirty-year, and the other on the twenty-five-year, scale we get the same result, viz., twenty-two to twenty-three generations ago. I think one would not be far out if one sets the Haamonga trilithon down as late thirteenth century. Moreover, there is more than one trilithon in Tonga, and there may be confusion for that reason also; though it is evident that they were all built by the same people, even if a century or two divided the building of the first one from that of the last.

It was the Karika mentioned above who appears as an actor in the story of Tangiia and his relentless pursuer Tutapu—one of the most picturesque dramas of the Pacific. Tangiia was a famous voyager, second only in renown to Ui-te-rangiora, but a traveller more from necessity than choice! For he had wronged Tutapu, a powerful chief, and to escape his vengeance fled from island to island all over the Pacific. His wanderings extended for over twenty years, and a vast number of voyages; it is recorded that on his ninth voyage he visited Rapa-iti, otherwise Oparo, in the Austral Group, and eventually settled and died at Raratonga, Cook Islands, which was the last calling-place (except perhaps the Kermadec Islands) of the Polynesians, who formed the chief migrations to New Zealand. It is said that at Rapa-iti, and only at Rapa-iti, are found the typical New Zealand fortifica-



THE HA'AMONGA, THE GREAT TRILITHON AT TONGA.

(From a Tonga post card.)

tions of "Pa"—can they have been constructed by Tangiia?

A remarkable dovetailing of data which, I believe, has not been hitherto pointed out is that on the one hand we have Tangiia, an ancestor of Raratongans, and therefore most probably of New Zealand Maoris, of about twenty-two generations ago, visiting Rapa-iti (with no doubt the inevitable fighting that all such "visits" resulted in), and we have traces of the Raratongan-New Zealand "Pa's"; on the other hand we have the legend that "about twenty-two generations ago a King of Rapa-iti was driven out and fled to Rapa-nui (Easter Island), where he and his men killed off the 'long-eared' people, except the women, and settled."¹ And to-day we find at Easter Island a race of semi-Polynesians who have kept up parts of their Melanesian cult, but speak Polynesian and strive their utmost to keep alive the traditions and genealogies of their Polynesian ancestry by means of a system of carved marks and symbols as memory aids, amounting to a rude script, which—as Mrs. Routledge told me—probably was evolved by themselves; the Melanesian carving instinct and the Polynesian history instinct for once coming aptly together on a fertile soil.

To return to Tangiia. Another vivid glimpse of the old Polynesian days is given us in the "histories," where we find that on one occasion, when the never-ending chase by the vengeance-hungry Tutapu seemed at last on the verge of satisfaction, Tangiia was in

¹ The custom of ear-piercing was, however, still kept up, for Captain Cook describes "ears reaching down to the shoulders, and distended by rolled-up pieces of cane-leaf."

danger of being cut off by a canoe that was cruising off Samoa with Karika, a possible ally of Tutapu, on board. Tangiia, at his wits' end, decided to try conciliatory measures and win Karika over to his own side, so he drew alongside and proffered his "Au," or token of supremacy, as a gift. I am not quite clear what this may have been, but whatever it was it was so highly venerated by his followers and relatives that one of them, shamed that such an emblem should pass from the tribe, snatched at it, and in the scuffle that ensued it fell into the sea and was lost. This implies that it was of some heavy material, and was probably of metal, jade, or ivory, very likely some sort of sceptre. Tangiia, not to be baulked, then proffered his Pare-kura, the sacred red feather head-dress, which Karika accepted, and—not to be outdone in generosity—offered his own daughter to Tangiia as a wife. Thus was cemented an alliance which one has reason to believe lasted till death.

Another voyaging of Tangiia's was that on which he sailed to Tahiti,¹ and remained there for a long time, fighting and subduing the inhabitants. It is recorded that he conquered "the pygmies" of Tahiti, and the names of four tribes are given, namely Neke, Kai lila, A-vakevake, and Menehuné. I imagine that these "pygmies" must have been the short dark aborigines, but I am inclined to think that the word Menehuné or Manaune especially implies a distinct people. It is a term constantly occurring in ancient

¹ It is said that Tutapu had driven him out of Tahiti, so this was probably an early voyage, unless indeed he was born and brought up there, a son of one of the early Polynesian settlers.

traditions of the Pacific. Fornander states that a Hawaiian legend mentions the capturing and bringing over from Tahiti "dwarfs," and in another tradition it is said that the great stone works at Hawaii, such as the "fish-ponds," were built by the Menehuné people. But if the dwarfs were the *same* as the Menehuné, why was it necessary in the legends to distinguish them? S. P. Smith considers, and I at first thought the same, that these were the short aborigines employed in great numbers by the Polynesians to construct the big stone buildings, of which so many traces yet remain,¹ but on further consideration I think they were *not* the short aborigines, although they no doubt were the slave builders of the big stone works. The same people apparently were to be found in Fiji (see the reference a few pages back to "Iti-nui, with its king, Tangaroa-manaune").

One of the last accounts we have of Tangiia is that as an old man, weary of the incessant wandering and fighting, he journeyed back to Avaiki-te-varinga, the land of his fathers, to consult the ancient deity, Tonga-Fiti. The god, or his priest, told him to make his way to Tumu-te-varovaro (Raratonga Island), and that he should there end his days. This he did, but it is mentioned that on his way back he mislaid, at Uea Island (? in the Loyalty Group), a sacred "trumpet" that he had brought back from Avaiki-te-varinga,

¹ He suggests that the word means "cicatrice," and we know that the negroid Melanesians "cicatrizated" rather than "tatu'd" themselves (probably because the dark pigment of tatu did not show up against their dark skins). The Menehuné are also said to have dwelt "in the forests," implying an inland people, or an early race driven back from the coasts.

and so important was it that he had to go back a considerable part of his journey to get it.

There is a fantastic myth about a Tangiia, but I think it just possible that this may have been some remote predecessor, after whom the one I have just been describing was named. The legend has it that this Tangiia was asked by Rangi, an original settler in Mangaia (Cook Islands) to send them one of his sons "to be their god." So a certain Motoro was sent, but on the voyage he was killed by his brothers. His soul, however, floated on to Mangaia on a hibiscus petal, and he became their god; but was known as a "Day," or beneficent god, in distinction to Rongo their "Night" or Avaiki one, who was afterwards associated with cruelty and human sacrifices. This Rangi was said to be a grandson of Rongo the god, and it is added that one day he had signally failed in his proper devotions by only sacrificing a paltry *rat* in his grandfather's honour, so that Rongo was much hurt, and withdrew the light of his countenance, and his favours. Rangi thereupon in conciliation sacrificed a *human being* (a dead Tongan who had been slain in the recent fighting), and this was stated to be the first human sacrifice offered in the Cook Islands: though it may have been an isolated case, particularly remembered, and preceding the general custom by some centuries. Later on I shall show that human sacrifices seem to have been introduced into the principal groups between 1000 and 1250 A.D. (which would also be nearer the date of Tangiia the voyager).

Now I read the above legend to mean that Rangi, a tribal connection of Tangiia's, but probably somewhat

debased by Melanesian Cook Islands blood, asked Tangiia to send them one of his sons, a skilled warrior, to reign over them or to assist them in keeping at bay the dark tribes, possibly his mother's people. That Motoro killed, was deified, and became—as was fitting to a pure Sky-descended Polynesian—a Day god, or god of Light, in contrast to Rongo, the local hybrid-aboriginal god, the cruel god of Avaiki (Hades). Also from legendary association of a human sacrifice with the Tongans, it would appear that that custom was introduced by them, together with the heavy fighting, as mentioned previously. Thus we may suppose this incident to occur shortly after the arrival of the brothers of Akapura, towards the close of the ninth century. If, on the other hand, it should be the same Tangiia, it would of course be very much later.

Another item of definite history that is really removed from the period of legendary myth is the genealogy of the sacred king-priests of Tonga, called the Tui Tonga. This peculiar institution of combined spiritual and temporal kingship, generally in later times split up, is found in a number of closely associated peoples, such as the Shogun-Mikado of the Japanese (whose predecessors, the Ainu, were distinctly akin to the Polynesians) ; the Zabo-tecs of ancient Mexico ; the Fijians (Roko Tui and Vunivalu) ; the Cook Islanders, and the Hawaiians. Curiously enough it does not seem to have appeared in Tahiti or Samoa, where a Melanesian element was in stronger force,¹ while in Fiji I think it was a relic

¹ Captain Cook describes the Hawaiians as being in colour and appearance much more like Europeans ; and he had just left Tahati, so that the contrast with the darker Tahitians must have impressed him.

of the thin belt of Polynesian settlement round the coasts, brought back in later times to prominence by the Polynesian-descended Bauans.

In Tonga the institution seems to have started about the eleventh century, and continued down to the end of the sixteenth, when, according to one account, a chief rebelled and took away the temporal power, founding the dynasty known as Tui Takalua, which in turn was displaced by that called Tui Kanokobula. By another account the Tui Tonga of the day found his dual position too strenuous, and delegated his temporal power to a younger brother. It is possible that the two accounts may not be incompatible, and that the delegation was not entirely voluntary! In Mariner's *Tonga* we have a clear account, by this European eye-witness of 1808, of the position of the Tui Tonga of that time, slowly waning into obscurity. He was very sacred and "tabu," so tabu that his blood might in no way be shed, and thus he could not be either "incised" or "tatu'd." The office always descended from the father to the son, and on his death his widow had formerly been strangled¹; while, as showing his divinity, the "Inachi", or first-fruits ceremony was made yearly, with much display, in his honour.

Besides these recorded migrations, led or caused by historical people, there were numerous waves in various directions over the Pacific, the only traces of which now left to us are in the anthropological differences of the inhabitants, and in the stone remains still found. An instance of this is Easter Island,

¹ Mariner's *Tonga*.

where Balfour has shown that the bird-heads in the script (and possibly conventionalised also in the profiles of the big stone images) are the hook-beaked frigate birds of the Solomon Islands, not found in the eastern ocean; implying that the people who brought the idea must have been Melanesians from the far west of the Pacific.¹ They, I think, were later on displaced by Polynesians, as I have shown a few pages back, but what one would like to know is: "*Did they themselves arrive upon an empty land, or was there a previous people, possibly from America, already there?*" The confining of a people upon a small island has, I am convinced, a degenerating effect, and it seems hardly credible that this wave of Melanesians from the Solomon Islands, strong and fierce though they might be in war, and skilful at carving though they might be in peace, could have evolved for themselves the grand ideas of the great sloping stone platforms, the vast stone terraces, the colossal works everywhere, so totally different from their own culture in the Solomon Islands. Were not these ideas rather brought in by a migration of people from South America (a backwash of the earliest Polynesians if you will, but advanced in culture and technique by a residence of possibly some centuries in the more helpful environment of a continent)? When we consider that the population of England has increased in two thousand years from a very few thousand people to some fifty millions, there is no reason why a Polynesian migration right across the Pacific that ended in colonizing Peru might not have

¹ The illustration facing page 24, showing Melanesian articles, has a bird-headed man supporting a wooden bowl.

increased in the course of a thousand years to the great number of people—*pari passu* increasing in culture—who built the large stone cities discovered by the early Spaniards.¹



SOLOMON ISLANDS CARVING OF THE HOOK-NOSED BIRDS.

An unrecorded wave would be that which brought the short people, "the pygmies", to Tahiti, unless it be that they dated from a period of time so ancient that they formed part of one negrito race that may have inhabited the whole of the Pacific. It seems, in fact, probable that the short people were part and parcel of the aboriginals of Papua, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Mr. Staniforth Smith, who has ably followed in Sir William McGregor's footsteps as an administrator and explorer in New Guinea, once told me that he considered the short men were the aboriginal people there, and that the present predominant type of hook-nosed "Semitic" Papuan was due to a strong admixture of his ancestry with the Semitic and

¹ Since writing the above a thought has occurred to me. Can it be that the hook-beaked birds were not Western Pacific frigate-birds at all, but South American vultures, or even eagles, the Sun-birds? This will completely upset the Melanesian theory, but strengthen the American theory. Even if the eagle does not catch fish, that might easily be an idea induced by local conditions.

Phœnician traders who came down to New Guinea, and even Australia, on yearly expeditions over a period of centuries.

Casual gale-carried "drifts" of small canoe-loads of mixed sexes might populate an uninhabited island, as I have explained in another book,¹ and, if strong enough, might even influence the future characteristics of an inhabited one, but the usual fate of a handful of survivors of an involuntary canoe-voyage was to be killed as things to be afraid of, denizens of another world; or, even if recognized as human beings, still killed as creatures likely to bring evil magic or disease in their train. Thus, in Fiji, any castaway was, as a matter of course, clubbed; "he had salt water in his eyes" being the recognized phrase. One striking exception to this is recorded from Tahiti, where we find that a chief named Hatonga was blown away with his men during some canoe races, and carried one hundred and twenty miles to the west to Raiatea Island, a new and unexplored land to them. Here they would have been slain as usual, but the inhabitants discovered *that they both worshipped the Sun* (whom they called Tama-nui-te-Ra, or the great Sun-father), and so spared their lives, eventually helping them on their return journey to Tahiti.

But in the case of Samoa there must have been several distinct waves of migration of different types of people, and unfortunately, as I have mentioned before, there are no reliable traditions of these immigrations. In later chapters I shall deal with what traces we can pick up from stone remains and customs respec-

¹ *The Lau Islands.*

tively; it is sufficient to say here that there appear to have been arrivals at different times of at least a Fire-worshipping people, a Sun-worshipping people, a division who practised embalming, and a party of megalithic builders. How much these overlapped and blended it is at present difficult to say.

CHAPTER VIII

BURIAL CUSTOMS

THERE is perhaps nothing more fascinating than the pursuit of some strange and curious custom to its origin, the triumphant fitting of a common-sense explanation to a mass of apparently senseless ceremony and ritual. And the peoples of the Pacific are more wrapped in queer and singular customs than, I think, any other nations of the earth. Ancient customs, too, for the people are conservative to a degree, and it is only within the last few decades that the white man has seriously brought upon them any radical changes. Before this his rare visits had but little influenced them ; they had, indeed, looked upon him more as some god from the spirit land, and not as a man like themselves (and one who would in a few score years do much to change the current of their domestic lives). Thus, the customs of their forefathers were almost all in the full vigour of their strength until quite lately, when the great uprooting of the old gods and the ancient faiths was brought about.

Had they all been of one nation, living together on one big island—but secluded by the barrier of ocean from the rest of the world, like the Australian aborigines—their customs would have been comparatively easy

to classify and tabulate ; but the many different waves of peoples that have poured into the Pacific throughout the centuries (and not all from the same geographical source, even if sprung in the misty past from the same racial stock) have rendered the task by no means an easy one. It is therefore with some diffidence that I have made the attempt in the following chapters to find the solution of some of the problems that face us in the Pacific to-day ; and especially of those customs that have at one time been connected, directly or indirectly, with the ritual of Sun-worship.

No matter what our various religions may be, there is no doubt that all of us mortals feel nearer to our gods in the solemn presence of death. When that strange thing we call the soul has been at length set free, we onlookers feel that somehow, in the neighbourhood of the scene, the gods have in some mysterious way been brought for a brief space into more intimate contact with us, that there is for a few moments something awe-inspiring in the very atmosphere. With primitive man this local mystery remained for days, and sometimes for months. Though the corpse was inanimate, the soul, that link with the gods, hesitated to leave the neighbourhood, the dead man knew all that was going on,¹ and if the ghost were offended in any way, woe betide the offender. With many peoples

¹ From now onwards I shall follow the example of other workers on the Pacific and use the term "ghost" for the soul of a person who has died, in distinction from "spirit" meaning the soul of someone (as a god) or something (as any article, for with many primitive peoples "things" had souls) that has never lived.

the ghost, if that of an ancestor, would be helpful if properly approached and propitiated ; with others it was always a menace, and to be got rid of if possible. This accounts for the two broad distinctions of the people who kept their dead with them, and of those who thrust them away.

Williams, one of the early observers of customs in Fiji, stated that on the tenth day the women were privileged to rush about with whips and beat the men ; in Cook's *Voyages* it is said that in Tahiti relatives of the corpse might go about in masks and beat people ; the Maoris and the Hawaiians could plunder and ravage in the village for a brief time after a death. Doctor Rivers ¹ considers that all this is due to the belief that the ghost of the dead man is still prowling about and must be allowed to enter anybody, and do whatever he will without let or hindrance. All over Fiji I used to notice good houses left deserted and empty for a considerable time after the death of the owner, sometimes till they decayed and only the posts and beams remained to be transplanted to another site. This was, I found after some pressure, due to the reluctance of the relatives to invade the house still “occupied” by the ghost of the dead man, till it was estimated that he had finally departed.

In Africa certain tribes get over this difficulty, and “puzzle” the ghost, ensuring that he shall not find his way back, by blindfolding the corpse and taking it off to the burial through a hole made in the side of

¹ Many of the Western Pacific customs mentioned here have been described previously by Doctor Rivers in his *History of Melanesian Society*.

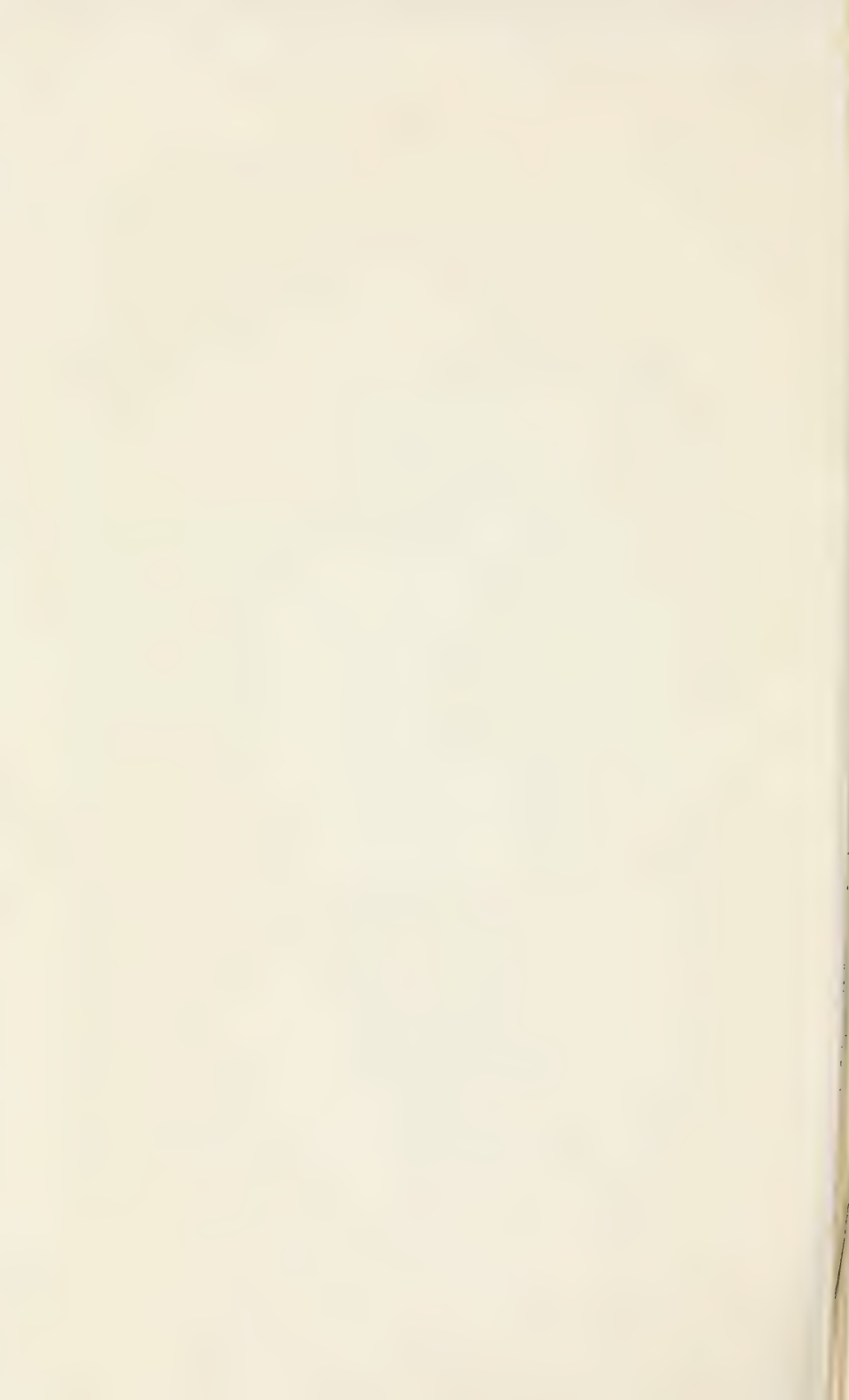
the house, rather than through the door. And in Fiji, too, in the case of large and valuable houses, economy sometimes won the day, and rather than let the house rot they used to adopt a similar method, Williams noting that a Tui Cakau was removed through a hole in the house-wall, though he could not give a reason for the curious custom. The same reason was undoubtedly the motive governing the incident mentioned from Stevenson's *In the South Seas* some way back, of the corpse that was dug up and re-buried *face downwards*.

In some islands the ghost is driven out of the house by noises and banging of drums—probably the “vaka-dredre” (“laughter-making”) of Fiji on the fifth day is associated with this. Anyhow, the general idea seems to be that the ghost keeps in close touch with the corpse as long as the corpse remains in the bodily shape that it formerly had. But as the corpse decays away so is the tie that binds the ghost weakened; thus, in Saa, in the Solomons, they facilitate this desirable object by pouring water on, so that the corpse may putrify and dissolve more quickly. This, of course, is probably done surreptitiously, as it is no more polite to hurry the parting guest there than in Mayfair, but done it is; and the same idea may be connected with the exposure, in many islands, of the body to the wind and the rain on a platform until decay has set in.

But may not the platform exposure also ensure that the Sun shall be present at the daily disintegration, the daily loosening of the bonds, and shall eventually draw up the soul of the dead to its own embrace



AN OLD MANAHIKI LADY WITH HER HUSBAND, THE LATE JOE THOMPSON,
THE AMERICAN HERMIT OF VATU VARU ISLAND, FIJI.



once more? The Parsee's "Towers of Silence" at once occur to one (the birds were a natural after-result of the exposure); and we find this platform method carried on along a route marked by a strong Polynesian, or at all events "immigrant", strain, viz., the Dyaks of Borneo, the people of Pulo Nias Island, Torres Islands, Malikula, Ambrym (chiefs only), Savage Island, Samoa, Manahiki (chiefs only), Tahiti, Paumotu (chiefs only), Marquesas, Easter Island, and as far as America.

After the flesh had withered away and the ghost had finally departed there was no reason for keeping the bones any longer exposed, and they were usually buried or deposited in some safe place, the skull, however, being usually retained as a revered part of the deceased to give aid when called upon,¹ and, to give the people their due, often as a token of affectionate remembrance.

There seem to have been two main motives in skull or head acquisition and preservation as practised by the peoples of the Pacific. In the one case the object was to acquire an enemy's head to use as an offering or sacrifice to one's gods; the head sufficing to represent the whole body and becoming, therefore, that most valuable of all offerings, a human sacrifice. For this reason many tribes of the Dyaks of Borneo, the Pelew and Solomon Islanders, the Samoans, and the Maoris practised head-hunting, though the original motive often degenerated into a mere collector's hobby to acquire trophies for one's own aggrandizement.

¹ The preservation of the bones of the "Saints" in the Roman Catholic church had no doubt the same origin.

The other idea was to preserve the head of one's own ancestor or relative, either in token of remembrance or to be used as a talisman. Much magical power became naturally associated with such heads; not only in myth, where one finds Maui fishing up the islands with his grandmother's jawbone as a hook, but also in actual practice, where in New Caledonia the magic stones for increasing the yam-crops were placed first of all in contact with the ancestral skulls "to acquire virtue"; or in New Britain, where a lower jaw (often with an artificial face modelled on to it) is carried by a thief to wave over the heads of recumbent sleepers to lull them into still deeper slumber!

In the Ellice Group (Hudson Island) the ancestral skulls were preserved (kept on an altar) because by their means the ghost could be called upon whenever its help was needed. In Tahiti the skulls were buried separately in a carved box—after platform exposure—and brought out again at any special ceremony to give that ceremony *mana* or "influence." At Malikula, in the New Hebrides, they were remade and modelled, and sometimes the bodies too, and set up in a row to line the communal dwelling-house, a gruesome gallery of family portraits. The curious thing is that they were often given as a convention the long noses of a type now seldom found, but which in remote times must have been the prevailing one.

At Santa Cruz Island the orifices of the skull were all artificially sealed up, apparently to prevent the exit of the magic power or essence associated with

such heads, and it occurs to me that here we may have one reason for the "scalping" of enemies by the North American Indians, to let free that same "essence," which, if bottled up in an *enemy* might allow that enemy, or his ghost, to be powerful enough to cause much harm to the slayer.¹ And strangely enough I find, mentioned in only one old book,² that this practice of scalping existed also in Hawaii. (Was the wearing, by a Fijian warrior in his girdle, of a slain person's "tobé", or long plaited lock of hair, originally associated also with this?) The same idea of dissipating the malignant power of a slain person may have caused the method of execution among the Maoris, which was by a short quick cut into the skull by a jade or whalebone *meré*, or bat-shaped knife, carried usually only as a symbol of rank. And a precisely similar weapon, now in the British Museum, has been found in a buried city in Crete; perhaps a relic of that ancient time when the Polynesians and the dwellers of the Mediterranean may have had ancestors in common!

As is only to be expected, with the sacredness of the heads is associated the sanctity of the hair, an idea attributed to many "Eastern" nations, with whom in this respect should be particularly classed the Polynesians, who perhaps more than any other people regarded the hair as "holy" beyond all things. One recalls the Eastern oath, "By the beard of my ances-

¹ A parallel instance occurs in the Lau Islands (Fiji) where the body of a man killed by witchcraft must be pierced, or else the ghost will be able in his turn to harm the murderer (See my *The Lau Islands*.)

² *A Tour through Hawaii*, by Ellis, 1826.

tors",¹ and remembers also the dreadful result of Delilah's experiments in hair-cutting, but just as terrible things were apt to occur in the Pacific. The cutting of a Maori chief's hair was a matter liable to be fraught with such dire consequences that his wife, who performed the operation, had her hands "tabu'd" for a week after the event. In Fiji (Namosi) a special day was set apart for the hair-cutting of the assembled chiefs, and a man had to be eaten to avert the results that might happen if an enemy chanced to get hold of any of the hair to practice black magic upon. This, by the way, is a good instance of the blending of the Polynesian "tabu" connected with the powerfully sacred hair, and the Melanesian magic performed by means of a person's hair—or anything else that was part of them—and powerful only for that reason.

The hair-cutting as a special performance in Fiji is, I imagine, a relic of the Polynesian ancestry, and there is no doubt that even to-day the mere touching in fun of a Fijian's head is a matter likely to give great offence, and a thing to be avoided by the ignorant newcomer.² I well remember how the most truculent

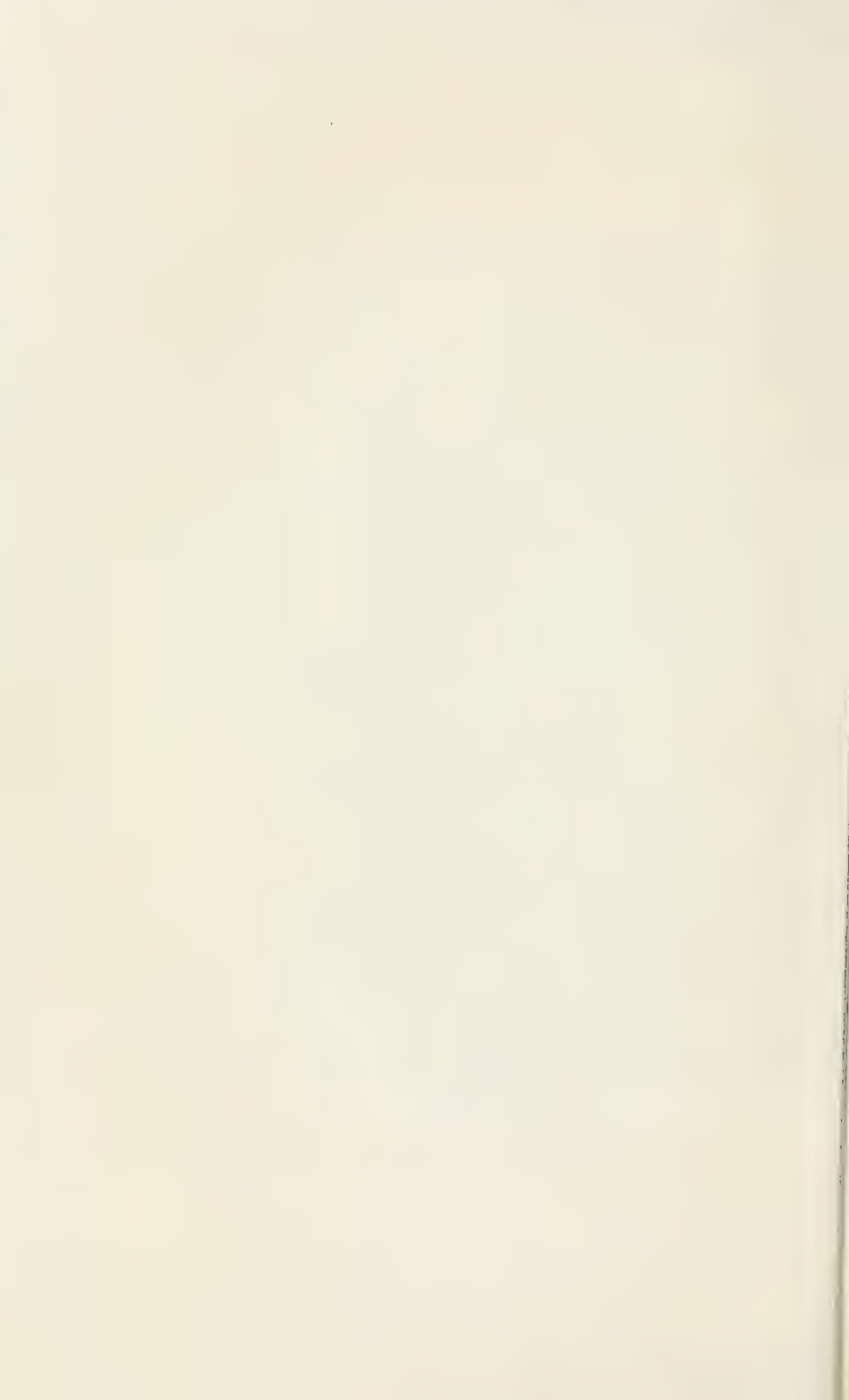
¹ Stevenson gives an amusing passage in his book, *In the South Seas*, describing his hiring of a professional "beard-plaiter" in the Marquesas to plait a valuable beard he had purchased.

² Ma'afu, the powerful and clever Tongan who made himself King of the Lau Islands, was once giving a dinner-party to the officers of a British ship-of-war anchored at Loma Loma. After dinner the wonders of hypnotism were being explained to him, and he was told that one of the officers had such powers. He took this officer on one side and told him to hypnotize a woman waiting at table, one of his household, to come up and hit his (Ma'afu's) head. This was actually done, and Ma'afu said, "Wonderful. It is true; for no living native would dare to do this in a waking condition!"



MAORI CHIEFTAINESS BEING SALUTED (THE "HONGI") BY A RELATIVE, AND HOLDING THE
BAT-SHAPED JADE "MERÉ" IN HER HAND.

(Photo by permission of the Agent-General, New Zealand)



of prisoners used to collapse like a pricked bladder when the police-sergeant came along with the dreaded scissors and removed their locks, a punishment reserved only for long-sentence men and really bad characters. Even with small babies the first hair-cutting was a solemn occasion, associated, needless to say, with a feast. One day Mitieli, my cook, came to me, as he so often did, to draw his wages a month in advance. I asked him what he required so much money for just then. "You must know, sir," he replied, "that I already have great debts at the store, so that I fear to ask the manager for a case of tinned salmon or 'bulumakau'¹ (beef) without payment. It is therefore necessary that I should buy a pig in the village, for it is the occasion of my child's first hair-cutting" !

All this peculiar "tabu" or sacredness of the head, which is particularly associated with the Polynesians, is, in the opinion of Doctor Rivers, connected mostly with the "Kava" people, that group of migrants who in the remote past entered the Pacific and brought in Kava-drinking as a religious ceremony; and who have left many traces and descendants in "Melanesia" while passing through to "Polynesia." Until now I have thought the same, and it is only after finding so many little clues fitting in together that I have reluctantly come to a different conclusion. I now think that the cult of "the head" (that is, the preservation of the skulls of one's own tribe or the acquisition

¹ An attempt by the Fijians to repeat an English name when first shown the strange beasts "bulls and cows"; which word has now become incorporated in their language.

of skulls of other tribes, either for memorials or for magic, as found in the Ellice Group—a colony from Samoa, in Tahiti, Malekula, Santa Cruz, New Zealand, etc., formerly all strongly “Melanesian” islands) is a cult of these Melanesian people, and that the cult of the sanctity of the hair, an idea of the ancient pre-Semitic people, has been combined with it by the Polynesians, who undoubtedly also brought in the Kava cult. I also thought, with Doctor Rivers, that the “secret societies” associated with Sun-worship, were formed by the Kava-using Polynesians, but I now think that they were formed (as a protective measure, I agree) by the Melanesians who, even if in the majority, were in desperate fear of, and easily subjugated by, the onswEEPing bands of virile, well-equipped Polynesians. And I think they picked up their use of Kava from the invaders.

That there is nothing in the ideas of Sun-worship, or of Ancestor-worship, that is incompatible with the Melanesians, when we realize the true country of origin of those people, I shall show at a later stage of this book.

It will be noticed that in one of the Sun-myths of the New Hebrides (p. 55) the Sun is called “Wet-mat-liwo” (mat or maté is the universal word for death in the Pacific). In the adjoining islands six stakes have to be successively clasped from East to West in the initiation ceremony of the “Ta-maté-liwoa” Society, and this is thought to represent the path of the Sun to its death. The conventional representation of the “Ta-maté-liwoa” is a figure with rays emanating from it, and a higher rank in the associated

Sukwe Society is called "We-maté-loa", the Man in the Sun.

In the Matembula Society of the Solomons images of the Sun are kept in the sacred houses, and the Duk-duk Society of New Britain and New Ireland has representations of the Sun held by, or forming part of the dress of, the dancers. In nearly all these secret societies the dance formed an important part of the ceremony,¹ and it is especially to be noted that in Eastern Papua a dance is almost unknown, whereas in the Western portion these religious dances are common, the men being all dressed up and disguised for the occasion. A shield from this district is now in the British Museum, showing a distinct sun-face upon it.

So far I have not really mentioned the Areoi Societies of Tahiti and the Marquesas, where, more than in any other society of the Pacific, was Sun-worship indulged in to the fullest extent. Moerenhout first described these in 1837, and observed that they were connected with the special seasons of the year, i.e., were closely

¹ A very degenerate, but to me interesting, form of the Matembula dance was once volunteered for me as a "Christmas Gift" by some Solomon Islanders whom I had helped in connection with the establishment of a village for them near Loma Loma, in the Lau Group. They came before my house dressed up in leaves, coloured sashes, and with red-painted cheeks. Hollow bean-pods rattled round their knees and ankles, and each held in one hand a fan and in the other a carved wooden bird. In a ring following each other they slowly danced round and round, singing a continuous refrain, and stooping, bowed down with the weight of "Mana". It will be noticed that the word *maté* again appears in this name, Matembula, and in the Fijian language (many words of which are common also to dialects of the Solomons) Matembula would mean "Dead-living," in other words, the ancestors brought to life again.

associated with the Sun, and Fertility, and "First-fruits". The faces of the dancers were painted red,¹ and the seven ranks of the society were distinguished by variations of body "tatu-ing," the highest being called "avae-parai" (painted leg), and being "tatu'd" from the toe to the knee.² Their leader sat cross-legged on a high stool, fan in hand, and directed the evolutions and the performance generally, which was in the nature of a pantomimic acting of a farcical kind. Great license prevailed in the acting, and the highest in the land were not exempt from being ridiculed by the performers; while a still greater license prevailed in the morals, as was only to be expected with a Sun and Fertility-worship. Originally purely a religious and strictly secret society, it ultimately degenerated into a body of strolling players of mixed sexes,³ who wandered round the islands living on the bounty of their audiences, and who invariably practised infanticide when any untoward result of their performances happened.

Now in Tahiti, where we find so many traces of Sun-worship in every form, it is interesting to note that in 1788, when Captain Bligh of the *Bounty* was present while the natives were digging a grave for his surgeon, who had died the night before, they politely asked him if they had done right in following out their

¹ The invariable association of red colour with Sun-worship will be commented upon later.

² *Polynesia*, by M. Russell, 1842.

³ In all instances where the Fertility-cult was practised the presence of the female sex either in symbol or *in persona* was necessary at certain times, as in the Nanga Society of Fiji; but in the Areoi Society the females seem to have always been present.



NEW GUINEA MASKS (TWO OF BARK CLOTH, ONE OF WOOD).

The large one shows sun-rays round the face.

(Photo from the *British Museum Handbook*.)

To face p. 124.

native custom of digging graves, " . . . For there," said they, " the sun rises, and there it sets ". And this mode of burial, with the feet towards the setting sun, was followed out in Manahiki Island, in Samoa,¹ in the Cook Islands, and generally where one finds traces of a Sun-cult. Though a suggestion has been made to associate also with the Sun-cult another mode of burial, i.e., that with the head above the ground, or, at all events, a burial in the upright position, as in New Britain, Ysabel, Aneiteum, and New Caledonia. But may not this be to facilitate the subsequent removal of the sacred head? Even the burial with the head above the ground was sometimes combined with the " knee to chin " position (this combination curiously enough occurs in the neighbourhood of Lake Victoria Nyanza), and shows an association therefore with the very early race of people who adopted the " buried-sitting " position.

In Faka-ofu Island (Ellice Group) where, as I have shown (p. 74) the Fire-worshipping, pearl-shell cult of the " Sky " people was a marked feature, the " buried-sitting " position was used, but the body underwent a modified process of embalming, being thoroughly and frequently anointed with oil and then carefully wrapped in mats *and preserved in what really amounted to a stone vault*. Now the Ellice Group, according to native tradition, is said to have been peopled from Samoa, and consequently one might expect to find some, at least, of the customs originally common to both groups still surviving in each of them. And so it is, for we find in the two great chiefly " houses "

¹ *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, by Rev. G. Turner, 1888.

of Samoa, namely those of Malietoa and Mata'afu, a vestige of fire-worship in the former, and of body-preserving by means of oiling in the latter.

Malietoa's tribe had from very early times "fires burning continuously night and day in their houses", and fire was particularly sacred to them, an offering to the Fire-god. At evening they were wont to blow up the fire, and then pour out a small libation of Kava, accompanying it with these words: "This fire is for you, O King. Do not be angry. Be propitious. Give prosperity. Drive away sailing gods lest they cause disease and death."¹ One would like to have been told whether they actually used to "blow up the fire" with their mouths, or merely by fanning it; since most Polynesians regarded the breath as unclean, and preferred therefore to fan the sacred fire. To this day in the Lau Islands I have often noticed the people somewhat clumsily fanning up a fire with a palm-leaf when they could much more easily and successfully have blown it with their mouths; but the reason they no longer knew. Lastly, in Samoa it was customary among certain tribes, presumably those who held the Fire as a sacred thing, to associate it with their dead, and to kindle great fires for days after a burial, so arranged that the firelight should fall directly upon the grave. That this was not merely to frighten away the "ghost" is, I think, shown by the fact that it was not customary among other neighbouring peoples.

¹ *The Melanesians and Polynesians*, by Rev. G. Brown. (The request to drive away the "sailing-gods" is explained by what I have written on the fate of small "drifts," on page 111.)

The mode of embalming adopted by the family of Mata'afu is interesting, as it may possibly be a small link in the long chain connecting up one section of these Sun-children of the Pacific with the ancient dwellers on the Mediterranean shores. The method was to open the body, remove all the viscera, dry it thoroughly, and then stuff it well with rolls of tappa, bark cloth somewhat like the papyrus of ancient Egypt. The limbs on their first swelling up were punctured to remove all fluids, and this puncturing was carried on, combined with regular oiling, till the body became quite "desiccated" and preserved. It was then deposited on the platform of a double canoe, though this placing in canoes, both here and in other islands, may have been merely to give the dead a better chance to get back "to their original home", and therefore not necessarily a custom of the original ancestors.

Embalming was not, however, confined to Samoa, but can be traced, perhaps in cruder forms, in other islands. In Hawaii some of the people used to embalm their dead by a sort of glazing solution made from the Ti-root (*Dracæna*), itself a root with sacred properties,¹ and then deposit them in a cave. Others practised cremation. So here, as in Samoa, we find, in addition to other methods, both embalming and the Fire-cult associated with the dead. In the Carolines both these methods were combined, as a form of mummification was practised by smoke-drying from

¹ The Savage Island (Niue) story of creation is that a man and a woman were made from a Ti plant. It is also used in connection with the sacred fire-walking ceremonies (see Chapter X).

a fire, but I very much doubt whether fire had any specially sacred significance in that group. In Tahiti and the Marquesas the oiling method, as in Samoa, was adopted, while the Rev. J. B. Stair, an authority on Polynesian voyages, notes that one Kaukula (? Kahu-kura, the god) died at Atiu, Cook Islands, and was long afterwards found by his followers embalmed in a cave. Even in Fiji the body was carefully oiled before being wrapped away in many folds of tappa, and then tied up in mats, looking much like a mummy. In the Lau Islands they were sometimes deposited in caves. Finally, there was once exhibited at Melbourne "a petrified New Zealand mummy from Otago," and this, no doubt, was a specimen of ancient Maori embalming. It will have been noticed how frequently the adoption of embalming has been connected with cave-burial, and I shall have occasion to refer again to this in a later chapter on stone remains, as I am inclined to think that the stone burial vaults constructed in certain islands are intended to represent the more ancient "cave."

Before leaving the question of the Fire-cult, as connected with the disposal of the dead, it is as well to glance at the customs associated with cremation. Where the practice obtained in Hawaii, the whole body was not burnt, but the flesh stripped from the bones with marvellous dexterity by men specially trained for the purpose; and, after being first offered to the gods, was burnt, the bones being cleaned and preserved in the temples, or else by the head of the family in his house. This actually happened in the case of the body of Captain Cook, and only the bones

were left; and though these were alleged to have been sent home to England later by special request, it has since been doubted whether they were his bones at all,¹ as the genuine ones were so highly valued as relics of "Lono the god" that it is thought that substitutes were sent for them. It is known that the originals were placed in a special basket, decorated with sacred red feathers, and taken round to all the temples in the country to give them, the temples, additional sanctity. Cremation in Hawaii is considered to be a later practice than embalming, and it is significant that the cult of Pelé, the volcano goddess, was also a late introduction; so that it is possible that the custom here, as also probably in Melanesia, was associated with Volcano-worship rather than with Sun-worship, through the Sun's symbol, the Fire.

In this chapter it has been my object to deal entirely with customs regarding the disposal of the bodies of the deceased. The beliefs regarding the sacredness of the head and the hair, and the ceremonies of various secret societies, have been introduced merely because they were explanatory of, or in close connection with, certain arrangements concerning the dead. Before proceeding to other customs regarding the living it will be necessary therefore to review the various methods appertaining to canoe exposure or burial.

¹ The son of King Kamehameha I went to England in a man-of-war as a royal guest of George III, but died shortly after arrival. He brought *some* bones, but not all, of Captain Cook for the widow—acting on a strong hint from the English authorities; but even those may not have been the genuine ones.

I use the alternative, as the actual burial of the whole canoe with the body in it has occurred within my own experience at Komo Island, in the Lau Group. The more usual way—and who can deny a strong vein of poetry to a nation who adopted such a method?—was to set adrift the body in a canoe at evening towards the setting sun, taking the frail barque far out beyond the circling reef and watching it till it slowly disappeared into the darkness. Such procedure was followed at Savage Island, Samoa, and in many of the islands of Micronesia.

In the Marquesas wooden “dug-out coffins” are used for exposing the body on shore, but there is no doubt that the shape of the receptacle is merely a modified canoe. In the account of a voyage in the mission-ship *Duff*, 1797, it is mentioned that when at the Marquesas they came upon the body of a chief named Honu, recently dead, which was exposed in a cylindrical coffin suspended on posts: while fifty years later another traveller records seeing in the same group “a canoe-like coffin suspended in a shed over a stone mound.”¹ In these islands, also, an American naval captain in 1813 came upon four canoes “pointed *bow on* to the mountain, with a life-size figure paddling in each,”² and this seems a somewhat extraordinary combination, until we compare it with the custom of building the sacred temple at Vanikolo Island, near Santa Cruz, with the doors towards the sacred mountain—“where the dead go”—and where, we are

¹ *Roivings in the Pacific*, by “a Merchant long resident in Tahiti,” 1851.

² *A Voyage in the South Seas*, by Captain D. Porter, 1813.

informed, the people pray "by the Heads of the dead, the Moon, and the Mountain." So, then, it would appear that one portion of the people originally came down from the mountain-fastnesses to be coast dwellers (perhaps not even on the same island, but sufficiently well remembered to have the idea instilled into their descendants that the dead must return to a mountain). And hence arose a combination of the canoe-burial—intended really for immigrants from across the seas—with the idea of the return to the ancient home on the mountain.

Every one knows the old Greek story of Charon, the ferryman who rows the souls across the River Styx. This tale is found in modified forms around the Indian Ocean, in Siam, and on to the Pacific, though in the latter regions the obol for payment was not placed in the hand of the dead because the idea of payment in cash for a service rendered was alien to the ideas of most Pacific Islanders. There was a regular "Journey of the Shades" among the Fijians, and at one part of it the soul had to be ferried across a river. The Fijian dead were buried with a valuable "tabua," or whale's tooth, in their hand, but though this may have been regarded usually as a sort of currency, it is generally considered that in this particular instance the whale's tooth was intended to be hurled at a pandanus tree en route, the successful hitting of the tree being a test of the widow's fidelity.

In the Lau Islands I came across ferrying legends of a slightly different form,¹ but the main principle

¹ See *The Lau Islands* (Fiji)—the story of "A Haunted Isle."

was the same; while in the Solomon Islands the ghosts are ferried to Betindalo, the place of the Shades. In the Fijian myth, so well investigated by Sir Basil Thomson, there is a curious likeness to one at Minehassa in Indonesia, in which there was a log for a bridge across a river during one portion of the journey. The log wriggles, and the ghost is either thrown off or has to turn back. In the Fijian version there is at one stage of the journey a serpent for a bridge, and the serpent wriggles, and is apt to throw off the unfortunate shade.

I have mentioned these ferrying stories to show that the idea of canoe-burial may be definitely associated with a water journey for the ghost of the dead, but the canoe burial or exposure is by no means universal in the Pacific, and even in those islands where it is practised it may be confined to certain classes, such as the chiefs. This, therefore, may help us a little to pick out the different migrations to certain of the island groups. In some of the Solomon Islands, for instance, it is the chiefs only whose bodies are kept for a time in a miniature or model canoe, the skull being afterwards preserved in a wooden representation of a fish. This custom is also followed out in Timor. (In Santa Anna [Solomon Islands] the skull is dug up from the grave and preserved in a model of a bonito-fish. It has been suggested that this association of the dead with a fish is a totem custom.) In both New Zealand and the Cook Islands model canoes are used as receptacles for the dead, and generally speaking the whole idea of canoe-burial is a Polynesian one, for where it occurs in Melanesia it is in connection



(1)



(2)

(1) RE-MADE HUMAN HEAD
FITTED TO ROUGH
MODEL OF A MAN.
NEW HEBRIDES.

(2) WOODEN MODEL OF
BONITO-FISH CON-
TAINING A SKULL.
SANTA ANNA, SOLOMON
ISLANDS.

(Figs. 112 and 118, *Ethnographical Guide, British Museum.*)

To face p. 132.



with the chiefly people or conquering classes, who would have been the Polynesian immigrants.

To-day there are no real chiefs, nor any form of hereditary royalty, in Melanesia, because the ancient settlements of the Polynesian invaders were too weak to make much impression on the vast hordes of the "Melanesians" and of the negroid aboriginals, and because—through lack of females—the immigrants had to intermarry; and the mothers of their children implanted Melanesian rather than Polynesian ideas into them. But in the next chapter I propose to discuss the question of royalty in other parts of the Pacific, and to show how very closely it is associated with the Sun-cult.

CHAPTER IX

ROYALTY AND THE "TABU"

WE were just rounding the last point of Lakeba Island before settling down for our two days' sail to the distant Ono (also in the Lau Group), when my skipper, a Lakeba native, drew my attention to a grove of palm-trees fast disappearing behind the quivering heat haze of a real tropic morning. "That, sir," said he, "is the site of the old town where our fathers were wont in ancient days to perform the 'buli' ceremony for the kings." And then, in reply to my questions, he gave me a full account of this old coronation custom, carried out until the time of this man's grandfather. It is too long to enter into in detail here, but briefly was as follows: First of all a small bowl of the ceremonial "yangona" (kava) had to be prepared, and then, in the presence of the assembled people, a hereditary official solemnly raised the cup and named the new king as the "Sau" ("Hau" in other parts of the Pacific) of all the land. Various addresses were delivered, and no doubt the gods were invoked, but of this my informant could not or would not tell me, as it is very difficult now to get these Lau people even to mention their old gods—a well-deserved tribute

to missionary effort, but a drawback to scientific research! Some time afterwards, often extending into months, the second part of the coronation ceremony was performed, and on this occasion scarves of the finest white tappa were bound round the arm of the new king,¹ and a turban of the same material placed on his head. *In the main portion of Fiji a splash of red paint was also laid on his shoulder*, and to this association of red colour with royalty and divinity I shall presently refer.

Officially, only the king could wear the turban in the Lau Group, and likewise only the king could use the palm-leaf sunshade on Taveuni Island; though in both places the higher chiefs, as being of the royal family, adopted these things, taking good care, however, always to lower them in the presence of the king.² In Fiji only the Roko-Tui, or king-priest, could wear the turban during the sacred kava-drinking, and in Fiji also an additional badge of royalty was the sceptre or "Mata-ki-langi," literally, "that-which-is-pointed-to-the-Sky." As in many Eastern countries, Polynesian kings were also accustomed to keep their thumbnails of an inordinate length, presumably to show that they were exempt from humble toil. The king, too, in many groups wore a carved breastplate

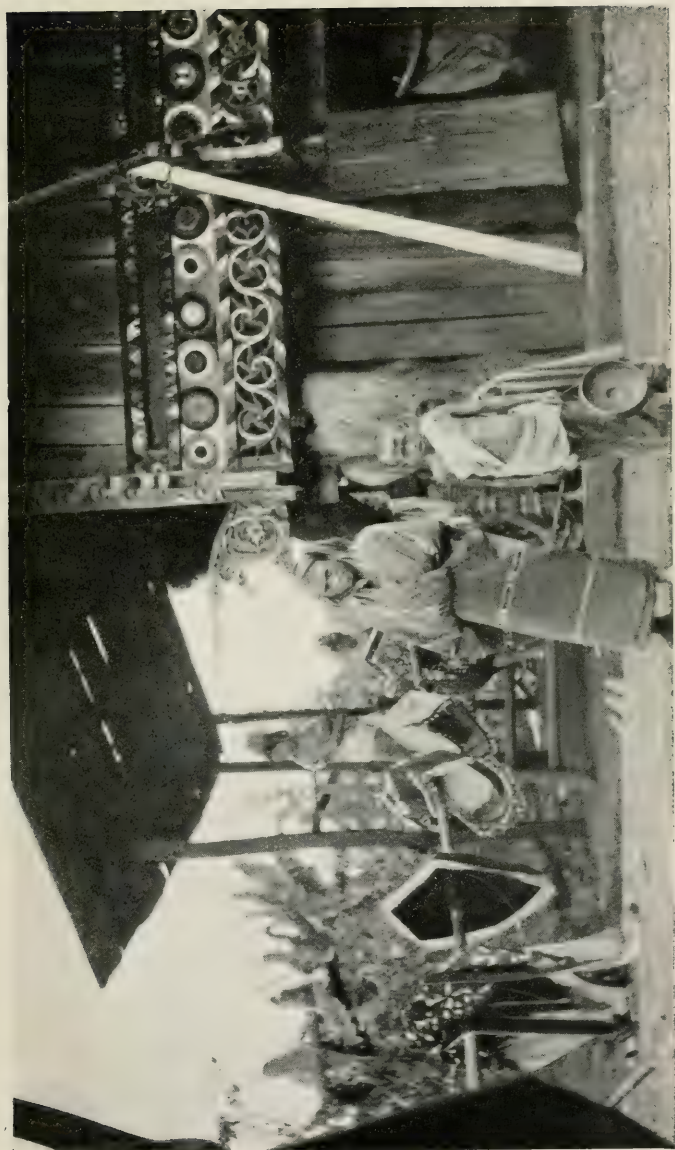
¹ This custom of binding tappa round the arm at the coronation is general in Polynesia, and is found, for instance, in Futuna or Horne Island, and as far away as Easter Island, where the representative of the "Bird-man" is so distinguished at the ceremony.

² It is a far cry to the ordinary "taking off one's hat" at home, but I have no doubt that that custom originated in the same way, and could be traced back through mediæval times to the pre-Christian period and to Sun-worship.

of ivory or pearl-shell, though this was rather in his capacity of priest, or perhaps "king-priest."

Now the king, as the direct descendant of the Sun, alone could deliberately dare to interpose some artificial shield against the sun's rays; a defiance, as it were, of the might of the sun.¹ Thus, he only could use the turban, he only could have the royal sunshade over his head. This is, of course, a sign of royalty or chieftdom in many countries, and especially in two countries whose people might well be termed first-cousins of the Pacific Islanders, namely Madagascar and the Philippines. The sunshade in Fiji was made of the large flat circular leaf of the "Fan-palm," a real fan, also, beautifully fashioned by nature. And fans seem to have become, perhaps for the reason just given, especially associated with any element of Sun-worship; as we have seen, the fan was a definite emblem used by the leader of the Areoi Society, and is also found in certain Fijian "mekés" or dances, particularly an astronomical one, wherein the Sun, Moon, and Stars are represented. In Tahiti the fan was associated with feathers in a peculiar idea of sacredness, and feathers given out by the priests at the temples at the time of the "Pa'e-atua" ceremony were taken home by the worshippers and tied on to special fans. These beautiful feathers of the Pacific were, of course, prized by an artistic people for their

¹ The golden crowns of kings to-day, even that of the King of England with its "fleur-de-lis," represent the circlet of leaves and flowers which god-descended kings alone might interpose between themselves and the Sun in primitive times. The turban was a later development after man had learned to make cloth.



MOROS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ARRANGING "SUN-SHADES" FOR A SPECIAL PROCESSION.

Note the house-carving is somewhat reminiscent of Maori house-decoration.

(Photo by permission of Dr. G. Stevens.)

colours alone, but there seems to have been something more than that, something particularly connected with a divine royalty. In Hawaii the "Kahili," the sceptre of the king, was surmounted with special feathers. The royal cloaks (as in Peru)¹ and the helmets had feathers thickly sewn on to them; the Pare-kura, or sacred coronet of Tangiia, mentioned on page 104, was made of red feathers; and the "Pa'e-atua" ceremony that I have just written of, consisted of the unwrapping of the images of the gods, exposing them to the Sun, oiling them, and then wrapping them once more in feathers—fresh feathers brought by the worshippers and given in exchange for the old ones, which were taken away as prized relics to be fastened to the sacred fans.² Can it be that the feathers represented divine birds, symbolic of the "Sky-people"? We know that many birds were peculiarly sacred (the "tropic-bird" of Fiji might be mentioned among others), and the messages of the gods were said to have been at first transmitted by the birds, until the priests were taught to do so in the squeaky voices—possibly imitative of bird-cries—they adopted.

I have spoken of the Fijian sceptre and of the "Kahili" of Hawaii. In New Zealand a sceptre-

¹ Feather crowns were also found by Cortes to be worn by the great chiefs in Mexico.

² In the Samoa-Fiji-Tonga Group the very special mats of the chiefs were edged with the much-prized red feathers usually obtained with great difficulty from Taveuni Island. I am fortunate in possessing an exceptionally fine specimen of one of these mats of woven grass, as fine almost as linen, and thus trimmed, which belonged at one time to King Malietoa of Samoa. These mats were often worn round the body from the waist, those at funerals, however, being the most dilapidated and worn-out procurable.

spear, also decorated with feathers, and called a "Hani", was carried by the great chiefs; and the "huia" feathers were always worn in their heads. But in Samoa there seems now to be not even a remembrance of sceptres as formerly carried by kings. (Although Samoa is of the great Fiji-Samoa-Tonga Group in which a large element of the original "Polynesian" seafaring immigrants to the Pacific settled down, it is nevertheless to-day curiously remote from the Polynesian traces that Tonga is so full of, and that even in Fiji are found barely concealed beneath the Melanesian surface. Its stone remains, of course, have not been disintegrated by time, but the customs and traditions of the people have been very much overlaid by subsequent arrivals.) The nearest approach to a sceptre in Samoa that I can trace is a particularly long handled fly-whisk that Admiral Sturdee once showed me, which had been the special badge of royalty carried by King Malietoa, and presented to the Admiral by him; but such fly-whisks were not uncommonly carried also by chiefs of lower rank.

In Tahiti and some other groups the kings were invested with the sacred "maro-ura" or scarlet girdle¹—(one wonders whether the red sash for this reason used to be such an inducement to the Fijian to enter the police force!)—and head-fillets were worn by royalty in those parts of the Pacific where turbans or actual feather crowns were not. But I am inclined to think that the fillet, like the breastplate, was worn rather as a priestly than as a kingly emblem. It is

¹ *Polynesia*, by M. Russell, 1842.



(1)

(1) MAORI CHIEF HOLDING "HAKA", AND WEARING HUIA FEATHERS.

(Fig. 150, *Ethnographical Guide*, British Museum.)



(2)

(2) A PRIEST, MARQUESAS, WITH MUCH TATUED LEGS, ALSO WEARING HEAD-DRESS OF HUMAN HAIR.

(Photo from "*Sunshine and Surf*," by the Author, published by A. & C. Black, Ltd.)

of course, difficult to divorce the two ideas in a people whose kings were the direct descendants, the representatives, and the mouthpieces of the gods themselves ; and it was only in later times, as I have shown on page 107, that the temporal and spiritual kingships were separated.

Williams records that in Fiji, when he first knew it nearly a hundred years ago, palm-leaf fillets with small scarlet feathers sewn on were worn by certain chiefs and priests ; in Tikopia Island they were worn in the sacred dances *and by those sent adrift in canoes to meet their gods* ; in the Banks Islands, during the rites performed by the secret societies ; and in New Caledonia they enclosed relics of the dead and were worn by the priests. In this latter connection I am convinced that the idea was rather to obtain a close connection between some sacred object and the most sacred part of oneself—the head. So also in parts of Melanesia a fillet is on special occasions worn, enclosing a small portion of betel mixture. This enables one to see clearly the ghosts which would be otherwise invisible ! It has been suggested that the red cylindrical “ hats ” on many of the stone images at Easter Island are intended to represent fillets,¹ while the somewhat similar stone images in Peru are certainly wearing them. In the *British Museum Ethnographical Guide* is given an excellent photograph of an elaborately decorated pearl-and-tortoiseshell fillet from the Marquesas Islands.

¹ The “ Bird-man ” for the year, upon whom the divine choice fell, and who was, curiously enough, called the “ Hau,” had a fillet of human hair bound round his shaven, red-painted head (see *Folk-lore*, December, 1917).

Much the same combined ornamentation occurs in the beautiful fretwork breastplates of Santa Cruz Island, turtle-shell filigree being super-imposed on to round white "tridacna"-shell plates; and possibly the crescentic pearl-shell breastplates of other parts of the Solomons may be associated with the same remote ancestry. Formerly the great Fijian chiefs wore ivory breastplates inlaid with mother-of-pearl, but in later times only the Tongans retained the skill in ivory-carving once common to both peoples; and during the subsequent renewal of intercourse between them, about the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these used to be imported from Tonga. It was in that period that Mariner relates how a Fijian adventurer to Tonga obtained a magnificent "breastplate", consisting of the captain's white china fish-strainer, from the loot of the *Port-au-Prince* (1806); and how in a fight a chance arrow happened exactly to find the bull's-eye by passing through the central aperture, nearly killing him.

It will have been seen how frequently the colour red is associated with anything royal or divine; already one has noted the girdle of the Tahitian kings, the fillets of the Fijian priests, the bones of Captain Cook taken round in a red-feathered basket, the scarlet-trimmed mats of the kings of Samoa, and particularly the red-painted faces of the Matambula dancers of the Solomons and the Areoi dancers of Tahiti. To understand something of the reason for all this it will be necessary to go back to the days of ancient Rome, Egypt, and even older peoples still. Blood and

sacrifices have always been associated with Fertility and the worship of the Sun-god. Legends of the dragon's blood and the fertile fields have come down to us from the misty past; and Sir James Frazer has pointed out that red-haired men were sacrificed and their blood sprinkled to ensure a full corn harvest in Egypt, symbolic of the sacrifice of Osiris, and chosen, perhaps, for their fanciful resemblance to the ripened heads of corn. Jupiter himself was portrayed with a red face, and the Roman emperors appeared in the Triumphs with reddened cheeks as the earthly representatives of the great god.¹

Now it is stated that the reason why the gods were said to have reddened faces is because their idols were fed with the first portion of the bleeding sacrifice, and their cheeks, therefore, were always shown smeared with blood. Red, too, is the colour of the Sun when he is nearest to the earth, so that it is only to be expected his symbolic images, and his living representatives the kings, should keep the prerogative of his sacred colour.

In the other world all the best things are coloured red, the best coco-nuts from Burotu are red, and it is on the crest of a red wave that one is ferried there!² Tangaroa, although missing through fraud the big offerings that his younger brother Rongo received, could not be denied the red ones (*ante* p. 66); and we have seen that the coronation of kings, the descendants of the gods, was signified by a patch of red colour.

¹ *The Golden Bough*, by Sir James Frazer.

² See my *The Lau Islands*, pp. 42-3.

It is possible that the performers in the secret societies represented the dead, the people who were now gods or closely connected with the gods. We should therefore expect to find that they, too, were associated with the red colour; and so it is, for the performers in the Sukwe, Tamaté, and Kolé-kolé dances of the Banks Group, in the Matambula dances of the Solomons, the Areoi of Tahiti, and even some of the Meké of Fiji, have either reddened cheeks or red-painted legs. I say "*even* some of the Meké of Fiji" because in most of these the performers now have blackened faces as warriors, but some Meké, I am convinced, had originally a religious aspect.

Just as the representatives of the dead in the secret societies had red paint about them, so also were the dead themselves thus prepared for their journey back to the gods. The corpse in Rotumah Island was smeared with red paint before being placed in its stone vault (I do not think this was intended to deceive the gods into believing that he had died in battle, for real blood could just as easily have been procured from some of the fowls or pigs killed at the funeral feast), and at Tikopia Island red turmeric was rubbed on. Turmeric, by the way, was frequently applied to offerings of fruits, etc., made to the gods; and also powdered all over newborn babies in Fiji. When I first went there as a doctor I often had my clothes covered with this when calling in to see some Fijian patient who had recently been confined.

Around the Fijian graveyards one invariably sees red-leaved and red-flowered trees, for everything associated with the dead must be of this colour; and the

bones of special chiefs in New Zealand were often painted red and had feathers affixed to them. The altars of the gods in Vanikolo, near Santa Cruz, consisted of eight pièces of red-painted wood tied cross-wise on a platform, with sacred skulls and round stones underneath¹: while in Hawaii the gods themselves were wrapped in red cloth, and Captain Cook, when he went through the ceremony of his own deification, or rather re-appearance on earth as the god Lono, had to be wrapped in a red cloth. So, then, royalty, the gods, and the sacred dead are always associated with the red colour, or else, if possible, to some nearer approach to the flaming tint of the sun, such as the orange-hued feather cloaks of the Hawaiian kings, more sacred even than the plain red ones of the nobles.

We have now seen how all the insignia of royalty, and also how the special red colour, were associated in the minds of the people with the divine Sun; and it remains to be seen how the extraordinary custom of the "Tabu," or "Tapu" (Taboo it is often written), was likewise a connecting-link between the Polynesian kings and their celestial ancestor.

The "Tabu" influenced and overshadowed every movement, every act, of the Polynesian's life, from his earliest infancy to his last breath; and even beyond, for it accompanied him to the grave. The whole subject is far too large and intricate to be dealt with here, save in the most cursory manner, and I shall not attempt to glance at more than the essential

¹ At Santa Cruz, too, the "currency" is made from the revered scarlet parrot feathers, and Doctor Rivers has shown how the general idea of *Money* was an introduction of the Polynesian immigrants,

features of it. Big books have been written on it as it appertains to various parts of the world, for it is wide spreading, far beyond the confines of the Pacific; *but when all is said and done I think it will be found that really it exists, or existed, only among those countries that comprise the track of the wandering seafarers who enter so largely into the scheme of the present book.*

First let us take a rapid look at the word itself, "Tabu" (or Tambu as pronounced by some races, such as the Fijian, who cannot say a "b" without an "m" in front of it). This is found all over the Pacific—subject to the usual dialect variations—from "Kapu" in Hawaii to "Tapu" in New Zealand (the latter form is perhaps the more like the early Sanskrit "Tapa" or "Tapas," of practically the same meaning, from which some writers derive it,¹ but the word is also found in the Hebrew, and is probably pre-Sanskrit); and in Mexico and Peru, in the "Tambo" houses, where produce was stored up, with a prohibition thereon, until the general need of the community called for its distribution.²

The custom held good in the Eastern Mediterranean and among Semitic peoples generally; in Madagascar and around the Indian Ocean, touching at the Andamans; then into Indonesia, up to Japan, and across the Pacific to America. It is closely associated with "being unclean" and the subsequent purification among the Hebrews; with the whole system of "caste" and defilement in India; and with the great

¹ *Who are the Maoris?* by K. Newman.

² *The Polynesians*, by J. D. Lang, 1877.

demarcation between "the sons of the gods" and common men in Japan and the Pacific. Probably the latter variety of it was the original idea right along the line, i.e., the death-dealing touch of the gods when applied to mere men. Even inanimate things touched by the gods passed on this dire influence, only to be removed by a sort of purification; and the wise law-givers of the Hebrews built up on this their clever system of purification after contamination, which in time practically amounted to an organized national sanitation.

The divine king was charged with a powerful "essence" which was of value to the land generally, but deadly to the individual person; and in this respect he might be compared to the Sun, whose heat, gently diffused, was of value to the farmer's crops, but would be of fatal effect upon the farmer could he come into actual contact with it. But just as the touch of the king could cause death, or at any rate a deadly sickness, so, if he graciously pleased, could the same touch take it away. In Tonga this removal of the "king's evil" was called "Moé-moé," and if any one had accidentally touched something that had been in contact with the king he went and—with the king's permission—placed the offending hand under the sole of the king's foot. Similarly, if any one had eaten something from a vessel that the king had used, the sole of the king's foot was applied for a moment to the petitioner's stomach. The remedy was as a matter of course never withheld, and the king's life would therefore have been a burden to him were it not for the very strict way in which he

and all his belongings were always watched, and the precautions taken that articles he had used should not be placed in such a position as to be accidentally used by others. The "tabu" of the king was strongest against the lowest ranks of people and less powerful against the chiefs in the ascending scale; and in just the same way the great chiefs themselves had a deadly "tabu" surrounding them as far as the commoners and lesser chiefs were concerned.

A practically similar custom prevailed in Samoa and in ancient Fiji, in fact anywhere where the Polynesians even had settled; but we have the most vivid accounts of it as it existed soon after the time when the white man first began to settle in the Pacific (and even then it was waning), in the descriptions that Mariner bequeathed to the world in his immortal record of Tongan life at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹

In Fiji the throat swelled and ulcerated if one had unwittingly eaten food touched by the king, or partaken from a cup or dish used by him. And in Japan the same dreadful result; and therefore the Mikado's

¹ For the benefit of readers unacquainted with the literature of the Pacific one may mention that the work referred to was written (and afterwards most searchingly verified) in 1808 by a Dr. Martin of London, practically at the dictation of William Mariner, a youth of some education who was one of the survivors of the massacred crew of the *Port-au-Prince*. This youth's life was spared by a whim of the Tongan king, who in time almost adopted him, and with whose family he lived for several years, until he was able to get away on a passing vessel. Gifted with a shrewd mind, a particularly observant eye, and a wonderfully retentive memory, he has given us a picture of the South Sea life of the period down to the minutest detail, such as has never been written before and probably will never be written again.

dishes were invariably broken after he had eaten, to avoid this risk. Clothing or mats that the king had touched fell, of course, within the same category; and it is recorded by a white man travelling with him that while on their journey a New Zealand chief flung a heavy blanket, that he no longer wanted, over a precipice. Asked why he had not rather left it by the roadside for the use of some more needy person, he replied that he did it out of kindness, lest the next passer-by should touch it and be afflicted with disease for breaking the "tapu"! The finest mats, chief's mats, in certain parts of Fiji were called "Tabu-kaisi" (forbidden to the commoner), and probably the reason for the name originated in the same manner.

Now it must be continually borne in mind that the seafaring race of dolmen builders and Sun-worshippers, who have left their traces from the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean to the Pacific, also branched up north round the Mediterranean shores to the west coast of Europe, even as far as our own islands, where similar traces of them are found, but much dimmed by time and overlaid by countless other waves of succeeding different races. The stone remains of the Sun-worshippers are concrete facts, the customs of the same people are but abstract ideas, and can never therefore be put forward with any certainty. But I see no reason why the "King's Evil," *and touching for "the King's Evil"*—carried on in this ancient land of ours right down to the time of Dr. Johnson, who was "touched" as an infant by Queen Anne—should not have originated in the same way.

It will perhaps be thought that if, in the Pacific,

such dire effects resulted from touching anything connected with the king, he would have found it impossible, even as the greatest despot in the world, to get any servants to wait upon him at all. But this apparently was provided for by the fact that certain tribes or families were exempt from the evil of the king, and from these were chosen his personal retainers. Moreover, slaves captured in war from distant countries and worshipping other gods would presumably not suffer, *and in this way the earlier peoples would probably be exempt*. Finally, as I have mentioned, the chiefs in an ascending scale became less and less harmed by contact with the king, until, with the highest chiefs of all, the "tabu" became more or less a mere formality.

Now the obvious logical conclusion should be that if articles in contact with the king, the descendant of the gods, were a source of danger, so also would be articles in contact with the ancestors, who had returned to the abode of the gods, and were now actually incorporated with the gods. And this was so, for the graves of the dead, the stones and trees around the graves, or, in fact, any articles connected with the dead, were heavily under the influence of the "tabu."¹

¹ There was a certain mango-tree—one of a long avenue of them—at Loma Loma town, that happened to be within a yard or two of the grave of a big chief. Not a single member of that chief's family or tribe would touch the fruit of it, though all the other trees were eagerly ransacked. The crop always fell to strangers or to members of other tribes in the town. One day I asked one of the family in question what would happen if he succumbed to temptation, and he replied, a little awkwardly, but in all sincerity, that his teeth would drop out.

One of the broad distinctions between the Polynesian immigrants and the combination of Melanesians and the aboriginals was that both the latter practised witchcraft (the world-wide witchcraft of primitive man) by certain dealings with the hair, nails, etc., of their enemy; the Polynesians, on the other hand, had no reason to do this, for an equally effective magic lay conveniently at their hand in the dread "essence" that emanated from every chief. In Tonga it was only necessary to take some article of clothing of one's enemy and lay it for a while on the chief's grave, afterwards replacing it again where it would be used by the unfortunate victim. But public opinion was so much against this that it was seldom done, and moreover (as we in our cold scientific superiority might surmise) it would not *really* take effect unless a hint were breathed to the victim of what had been done, and then he at once had his remedy by getting the living chief to remove the "tabu." Of course there might be a time when the chief was not available—away at sea, or at a great distance—and perhaps, too, the living chief might not be so powerful as the deceased ancestor of the tribe. Be that as it may, it is certain that "witchcraft" was less practised in Polynesia than in Melanesia, which is, even to-day, full of it.

So far we have been concerning ourselves only with the evil side of the "tabu." But it had its benefits as well, the dread invisible power of the king helped on his people against their enemies in war, and the same power made the land fertile and fruitful in peace. If he placed his "tabu" over a piece of land for a season

the produce grew with redoubled vigour, the trees groaned with the weight of their yield. (The real effect was that the trees were not intermittently despoiled of their fruit, and the crop to be taken away at the end of the time was therefore a big one.) When a feast was to be prepared for, or a time of scarcity was to be anticipated, a tract of produce-bearing land was put under a "tabu." The king touched the land; at first, no doubt, by actually walking round the boundaries, though later he merely made a declaration that he had set a "tabu" on it; and at the end of the period the "tabu" was removed with much ceremony. And since the land had been "touched" by the king, illness or death would strike the person who—even in ignorance—trespassed upon it or removed the fruit. Therefore, so that all should be warned, signs were placed at the boundaries that the land was "tabu." These consisted of some well-known emblem easily recognized by all, such as an inverted coco-nut shell on the top of a tripod of sticks, or a coco-nut leaf split and tied, skirt fashion, round a tree. And to this day one sees these signs on the boundaries of food-gardens, or coco-nut groves, in Fiji, to show either that the land has been "tabu'd" for the general good by the chief (nowadays with the agreement of the council of elders, and with only a lurking, would-be sceptical belief in the magical consequences of breaking it), or else—to what prosaic depths have we descended—to show that some private owner is on the alert and prepared, if necessary, to prosecute trespassers!

One other instance of the royal "touching" neces-

sary to remove a "tabu" is that of the kings of Futuna or Horne Island, near Fiji, who on the occasion of their coronation had among other things to tap the sacred turtle with a bamboo sceptre to take away its "tapu" before it could be cooked and distributed for the feast.

But though the belief in the effects of contact with a chief is fast disappearing, the customs for averting his wrath and a shooting forth of his power are still observed, even though little understood. Any visitor to Fiji will notice how a well-behaved Fijian, after handing anything to a chief, or speaking to him, or touching him, will softly clap his hollowed hands once or twice. And since they have always considered the mysterious white strangers from across the sea as coming from the gods (the "papa-langi," who had burst through the heaven boundary), they do the same to them, especially if of what they estimate to be "chiefly" rank.

With reference to this custom, now become one of respect rather than of warding off magic, one may mention another custom of respect that is used in Fiji to high chiefs, and has sometimes in similar fashion been—quite improperly—applied by the natives to senior white officials. That is the low long-drawn cry of "Tama" (literally "Father") that is respectfully emitted by any little knot of people when the chief passes by. He is the lineal descendant of the great god, of their Sky-father (for it is obviously a Polynesian-originated custom), and is therefore thus saluted; *but the curious thing is that it is considered quite wrong to give the "Tama" after sunset.* This

has not been hitherto explained, but my reading of it is that after sunset the Sun-god (or his representative) is not supposed to be present at all, is hypothetically absent and invisible, so that it would be obviously wrong to recognize his presence.

Now since it was the king-priest who put the "tabu" of the gods (or of himself) on anything, it was therefore necessary when the proper time came that either he, or the priests acting on his behalf, should remove it. This removal was always accompanied, as I have mentioned, by certain ceremonies somewhat differing in the various island groups, but on the whole being wonderfully in harmony. And the chief part of the ceremony was invariably the sprinkling of water—one of the many customs of immense antiquity afterwards assimilated into the Christian Church.¹ In connection with this there was a curious result in the early missionary work in the Pacific. The missionaries usually found—as long as they were not running full-tilt against old-established customs, and as long as they kept on the right side of the king—that the people were extraordinarily amenable to the teachings of the new faith, especially the Old Testament; and this was very natural, for had they only known it the teachings of Moses and of the established religious observances of the islanders were merely two anciently separated branches of the same Semitic or pre-Semitic tree. But when it

¹ The same idea moves the Jew also, after even the *reading* of the dread and hallowed scriptures (the Law), to rinse his hands. So also to exorcise in the Christian Church the "tabu" power of the Devil! vide the "Lay of St. Nicholas," in the *Ingoldsby Legends*.

came to baptizing and sprinkling water *on the heads* of the new converts, according to the tenets of the Christian Church, a certain amount of difficulty arose. For this particular rite removed "tabu," the very thing which was the whole object and being of "the sacredness of the hair," as we have seen in the previous chapter! It was therefore, one may imagine, a somewhat meagre and perfunctory baptizing that the first members of the flock received, till the king gave consent to this extraordinary action of the strangers.

I think there can be no doubt that fresh water was the original medium for removing "tabu" (probably founded on the simple act of washing oneself to remove—literal—"uncleanness" after the congealed blood and filth of sacrifices); but when the people reached the Pacific and came in some instances to live on small, sandy, and coral islands, often waterless, or with streams that dried up at certain times of the year, the next best thing obtainable was coco-nut water; and this became in time the correct thing, even in islands where water could be procured.

The obvious things requiring removal of "tabu," or dangerous influence, were such matters as contact, direct or indirect, with a chief, with the sacred dead, with the act of "tatu-ing" (a sacrificial rite), or with a marriage (a sacrifice to Fertility).

In New Caledonia (which was, like Fiji and many other islands in Melanesia, at one stage in its history quite a "Polynesian" island) a commoner sprinkles himself with water when approaching a chief in order to address him. In Aurorae Island (Ellice Group) there was a large clam-shell of water just inside the

temple door, and petitioners to the god Tapu-ariki used to sprinkle themselves before approaching him. (Compare this with the "Holy water" basins just inside the doors of our own churches.)

In Samoa the priest sprinkled water on the people who had had anything to do with a corpse at a funeral. In Tonga fish was rubbed on the hands of the men who had to lie near the grave for a hundred nights to guard it, but I cannot explain this, unless it was something to do with a totem idea, for there were totems in Tonga. In Fiji it is related by Williams that at the funeral of Tui Cakau a woman sprinkled one threshold with water while the corpses were being taken out at the other (Tui Cakua himself, as I mentioned previously, being taken through a hole made in the wall; these other corpses were those strangled to accompany him to the other world). This was evidently to purify the threshold of this charnal house, so that newcomers could have one door to enter by, the other door being too violently "tabu'd" by the corpses to be available for some time to come.

"Tatu'ing" was a rite peculiarly sacred, and was, as I shall presently show, so intimately associated with the first signs of puberty that it may be regarded in its origin as a sacrifice to the Fertility God (who is, of course, merely another manifestation of the Sun-god). It was therefore only to be expected that after "tatu'ing," and the consequent close approach to the gods, a removal of the "tabu" was necessary. This was accomplished in Samoa by a solemn sprinkling of coco-nut water, just as was done after contact with the sacred dead; in New Zealand the "tabu"

remained the whole time the man was being "tatu'd"—sometimes for months, a cause of great inconvenience to him, and could only be removed on the completion of the final piece of decoration.

For the same reason, of association with Fertility, marriages had something "tabu" about them. At the Manahiki marriages the priest handed a green coco-nut first to the man, then to the woman, that they might each touch the water in it; and the man's sister then opened another one *and threw it up in the air*. All the party then went in pairs down to the beach to touch the sea with their feet, as an indication that the "tabu" was now removed.¹ This abstention from the sea during a period of "tabu" is a curiously persistent idea right through the Pacific. Until the fourth day brides in Fiji might not touch the sea; for four days after he had set things in train the worker of magic in the Lau Islands could not venture near the beach; and in the same islands for eight nights after the death of the "Sau" the sea was forbidden to all. There was at Waimoro (Fiji) a sect of men called "the followers of Roko Moko"—the great lizard-god.² This god and his family entered into these men and caused them to become invulnerable. They had to keep apart from their women-folk for twelve months, to eat special foods, *and their feet were never to touch the sea*. If their duties were faithfully carried out any injuries that should have come to them in battle were deflected into a well-known log of wood that lay at the bottom

¹ Dr. G. Turner.

² *Fiji and the Fijians*, by Williams and Calvert, about 1848.

of the river near their town; and after a battle the curious might dive down and observe the fresh wounds upon it.

To return to the coco-nut water. Just as it was used as an antidote to the "tabu" in Polynesia, so was it used as an antidote to magic in Melanesia, and in all probability was an idea borrowed from the Polynesians during their stay there en route. It is recorded that a man in the Banks Islands, being jilted by a vacillating damsel, proceeded to cast a spell over the young lady. To his horror he discovered that he had made his magic too strong, and brought an epidemic on the whole tribe. So he climbed a coco-nut tree, and, opening a nut, sprayed it in the direction of the village to the complete satisfaction of every one concerned. In the same group bands of magicians acted in concert; but, there being "no honour among magicians," after a good day's work they mutually sipped from the same coco-nut, to ward off the consequences if any one of the partners should turn upon the rest the magic they had just been creating! ¹

In Faka-ofu (Union Group) sick people were sprinkled with coco-nut water, *and at the same time a little from the same nut was poured on the sacred stone of Tui Tokelau, the god.* It must be understood that "stocks and stones", whether carved into human semblance or left untouched, were never, in the Pacific, worshipped as gods themselves, but were merely regarded as temporary settling places for the god's agency, or convenient depositories for his "influence." Conse-

¹ *History of Melanesian Society*, by W. H. Rivers.

quently, when the antidote was sprinkled upon them it was not impertinence to the god, but merely an apologetic raising of a barrier against the evil effects of some "tabu" which they had unwittingly broken. In just the same way at Tikopia the two stones of the gods were sprinkled at times of sickness or famine.

Finally, in Samoa the priests scattered coco-nut water over the warriors just before a battle, to ward off the "tabu" that the god of the other side might have laid on them, thus allowing all to start fair.

CHAPTER X

FIRST-FRUIT OFFERINGS TO THE SUN

WE have seen in Chapter II how the daily birth and death of the Sun was a matter of vital importance to primitive man, how his daily life was completely ruled by it in a way that we, with our artificial means of light and heat, can hardly realize. Almost equally important to him was the rotation of the seasons, the annual coming of the harvest, when, from a time of scarcity he began to feel the joys of *living* once more. Food was the great keynote of his life (it is to some of us still). And he realized that it was the great Sun that ruled the harvest, that, if angry, would scorch up and shrivel the tender shoots, that, if forgetful, would only appear spasmodically in the chilly distance of mist and cloud, causing the crops slowly to fade away in a fruitless immaturity.

But the Sun itself might also pine away and die for ever, which would be the most terrible catastrophe of all. Every year, after reaching its maximum, and when each day it began to get farther away and to spend daily less and less time with us, it seemed that such a fatality might happen. It was therefore necessary at all costs to feed it up and "keep it going," hence, as we have seen, some of the vital

essence it had expended on us had to be returned to it again in the shape of a living sacrifice. Blood had to be offered to it to rejuvenate it.

In addition to this, however, there was also, as we have seen above, the matter of the possible anger or forgetfulness of the Sun, and it was obvious that to keep in its good books it must be propitiated and humbly thanked each year for the bountiful crops it had given. The first and finest portions of that harvest must be sacrificed to it (sacrifice means, of course, merely to "make sacred," not necessarily to kill), or it would refuse to help again. Therefore arose the great annual ceremony of the "First-fruits", associated with Fertility and all that the word implies.

In all parts of the Pacific *where there are traces of the Sun-worshippers* this ceremony held a most important place in the religion of the people, and we are fortunate enough to have, in Mariner's account of the "Inachi"¹ a very full description, too full to be entered into in detail here, of the ceremony as it occurred in Tonga before the coming of the white man had sponged from off the Polynesian slate nearly all traces of their ancient institutions. The chief points to note are that the offerings were made to Tui Tonga, the divine king (the separation of the Spiritual and Temporal kingship having taken place some three hundred years before this), and were made at the most hallowed place possible, viz., the graveside of the latest Tui Tonga

¹ "Inachi" actually means the "sharing-out," i.e. division of the offerings. It took place about November, when the first yams were ripe of the crop planted about May.

to join that god whose earthly representative he had been. The whole people joined in this very impressive rite, and a long procession of solemn worshippers carried the offerings to the high wooden conical towers¹ erected to receive them, while the priests blew the conch-shells used for religious ceremonies. The yam, the staple food-crop of the nation, was the produce selected for the offering, and these were carefully bound round with slips of pandanus leaf (coloured red), so that not a portion of the yam, now highly charged with the "tabu", could be touched by impious fingers. In the subsequent division the major portion of the whole enormous presentation was allotted to the Tui Tonga, the remainder being equally divided between the priests and the temporal king.

In New Caledonia the "First-fruits" took place about the same time of the year; no women were allowed to be visible for the five days preceding and during the ceremony; and the yams, wrapped in leaves to ward off the risks of touching them, were carried in procession before high wooden images of the god. In Tonga, where food was merely baked in the Polynesian "lovo" or earth oven, the subsequent cooking of the yams (cooking, by the way, removed the "tabu") was a simple matter; but in New Caledonia, where the Melanesian custom of boiling in pots was in vogue, it was necessary to have special "tabu" pots reserved for this cooking, and for this only. The same thing happened, as we shall presently see, in the cooking of human sacrifices.

¹ These were possibly phallic emblems.

In Fiji there were two distinct traces of "First-fruits" ceremonies, of which the most anciently established there was that of the offerings to Ratumaibulu ("My Lord from Bulu"¹). This rite took place in December, and the earliest yams, called "Ai Sevu" (the First-fruits) were solemnly offered to the god at his temple to the sound of the sacred conch-shell blown by the priests. We have already seen (page 64) how the serpent—that universal emblem of Fertility—was sacred to him, and how he is also connected with the Sun.

In addition to this there was the extremely interesting "Nanga" ceremony, introduced not so very many generations ago, says tradition, by "two little old men," who had drifted across "the sea" from the north-west. This was a combination of "secret society" and of "First-fruits" to the god of Fertility; and the visible tokens of circumcision—one part of the initiation ceremony of the youths—were offered up to the god, just as in ancient Egypt and Mexico. At a later stage in the performance women were admitted, and scenes of a licentious character ensued, the universal idea of primitive man to ensure fecundity in the harvest. The offerings of yams apportioned to the god were so very "tabu" that none dared to eat them, not even the priests, and they were left to

¹ "Bulu" is, I consider, an unaltered Polynesian name. U and O are often interchangeable in Fijian, the tendency being for the Fijian to turn the Polynesian U into O. Thus the Fijian Island Moala was known to the old Polynesians as Muala (and is often still so called by the islanders to the eastward of it). When Bulu becomes Fijianized it is changed to Buro, which is found as "Buro-tu," or Holy Buro (their name for Paradise, the place they will return to after death).

rot Yet a very small portion of them were partaken as a sort of sacrament by the initiates, the lower half wrapped in leaves so that there might be no risk of touching by the hands.

The most curious part of the whole affair was that the chief priest at one part of the proceedings called out—evidently referring to the ancestors: "Where are they? Are they gone to Tonga Levu? Are they gone to the Deep Sea?" The fact of all these obviously Polynesian customs, and of an appeal to those who may have passed on to "Tonga" a typical Polynesian place-name,¹ makes one think that the two Melanesian founders were descended from some little "dropped colony" of Polynesians left behind in the onward march of those people through Melanesia to the east. The stone remains (including pyramidal structures) forming the enclosure wherein the ceremony took place are so exactly like the similar temples of Tahiti and Hawaii that the argument becomes stronger than ever. It is only in comparatively recent years that these "Nanga" stone remains have been explored in Fiji; it is therefore very likely that there may be similar ones not yet discovered in the far less known New Hebrides or Solomon Groups, where Polynesian traces are often found in the most unexpected spots.

In the Gilbert and Ellice Group the First-fruits are offered to the god Tapu-Ariki (which merely means sacred king) by each family "at a stone" set up to

¹ Tonga also means "the south," but as the place is here called Tonga Levu one may assume that the reference is to a place, probably the well-known Tonga, of which the forefathers of the performers may have heard from some returned wanderer.

him.¹ But it is not made clear whether the stone was an altar-table or simply a monolith. If the latter, as seems most probable, it was possibly one of the phallic emblems of Fertility scattered so profusely throughout the Pacific. Similar offerings were made at Tanna, and in one or two islands in the Solomons. In the latter group Mr. Woodford, late Resident Commissioner, describes an interesting glimpse of the ceremony he was able to obtain on one occasion. The "First-fruits" were the early Canarium almonds, a staple food of the people; and they were burnt on a little wooden structure, one of the men explaining to him that none dared eat the new crop till a portion had been offered to the god, or—as he expressed it in "Beche-de-mer" English—"Devil he eat first, all man he eat behind."

In New Zealand, Samoa, Tahiti, Easter Island, and right across the Pacific to Mexico and Peru the "First-fruits" were offered. In Acosta's *History of the Indies* an interesting account of the ceremony in Mexico is given, when the Aztecs used to eat the new corn baked—at a sacred fire—in the form of an image of the great god Huitzilopotchli.² (This partaking of the body of the god in the form of bread is, of course, a very ancient communion service and sacrament of primitive man from earliest times; taken in order to acquire the moral characters of the god; and survives to the present day.) The new corn was filled with the very essence of the god, and imparted some

¹ Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition*, 1838.

² Acosta describes these cakes as being baked and brought in by virgins, with reddened cheeks, and red parrot-feather necklaces and bracelets.

of the same to the worshippers. The later development was the mere offering of the "First-fruits," not actually eaten as representing the god. The early stage was seen in Mexico; the Fijian Nanga ceremony may be considered to be an intermediate stage where the sacramental food is eaten, but not made to mimic the actual shape of the god; while the late stage is found in the New Caledonian or Tongan ceremonies, where the only trace of the original idea is in the "tabu" character of the yam.

In the Indonesian Islands of Minehassa, Celebes, and Buro similar First-fruit ceremonies are performed; in these cases the local staple food, rice, being used. We thus have the custom extending right along the line of the seafarers through to America.

But the custom can also be traced back from Indonesia in the other direction, with the same ideas of the Sun and Fertility-god, the same communion and partaking of the sacrifice. In India and along the coasts of the Indian Ocean it was prevalent, and when the Eastern Mediterranean is reached we find it was most marked of all places. The Semitic peoples carried it through to Britain, perhaps even before Greece and Rome had fully developed their Eleusinian mysteries and saturnalia; and our own May-day customs (May in the northern hemisphere bringing forth the earliest crops as November does in the southern) are the direct descendants of it.

The Phœnician Baal or Bel, the Sun-god, is found in the word "Beltane" (Bel's fire) in Scotland, and particularly Cornwall, where bits of the Eastern language

so often peep out here and there.¹ And the May-day custom there was, and probably still is, to kindle greater fires on that day. The May-pole is, of course, a phallic emblem; the May Queen was given a husband to ensure Fertility (just as the marriage of Adonis and Aphrodite),² and at Hone village, Dartmoor, a sacrificial ram was tethered to a stone menhir (phallic emblem), then slaughtered, roasted whole at the May-fire, and partaken of by all the people.³

It will have been noticed how frequently a stone or wooden phallic emblem appears in all these “Fertility” ceremonies. The serpent was, of course, the living emblem of the same import, and appeared on the porticoes of Egyptian temples as a snake on each side of a sun-disc; and in Mexico as a carved wooden serpent-collar placed round the neck of the human victims to the Sun. Dengei, the serpent god in Fiji, is thought to have been an introduction of Lutu-nasombua and his followers (mentioned on page 78); and the serpent appears also in Fiji more directly connected with the Sun in the case of Ratumaibulu. Snakes are comparatively rare in Fiji, and if one were found it was carefully anointed with oil and taken to the temple. The last year I was in the Lau Islands I found my native police sergeant carefully oiling two snakes he had caught, and which he intended to take back to his district. And he was a most regular chapel-goer!

¹ Britain was so full of Sun-worship that it was called by some ancient nations “the Isle of Beli.” Antiquarians tell us that there was actually a great Sun-temple on the present site of Westminster Abbey.

² This survived quite lately in Hertfordshire.

³ *Notes and Queries*, First Series, vol. VII.

In those smaller islands where no snakes were found, or even in the larger ones where they happened to be scarce, the immigrant people often chose the next best thing they could get, that is, the sea-snakes or water-eels. In Samoa, especially in Manua Island, there was a recognized Eel-god, named Fuilangi (the Sky Creator)¹; and in Tikopia we have already seen (page 48), that the people good-naturedly sacrificed to the sea-snake in order that their bishop's steamer might safely weather a storm. Tasman records that in 1643 a Tongan, seeing a water-snake among the rocks, carefully picked it up, placed it to his head (the sacred part of him), and then put it back again in the water.² Even to-day I have noticed that Tongans always treat with great respect these black and white ringed snakes that are so common in the reef-pools left by the sea at low tide.

All over the Pacific is found that world-ancient creation myth of Father Heaven and Mother Earth being separated, thus allowing their children (mankind) to breathe and have light. In some parts, as at Manahiki, it was Maui, as himself, who raised the Sky and kept it up with props; in others it was Ru or Lu (in Egypt it was Shu, and in India Ru-dra); but in the Gilbert, Ellice, and Tokelau Groups it was always done by some god in the guise of a serpent or sea-eel. All these snakes and phallic emblems are but representatives of the reproductive power of the

¹ In Hudson's Island (Ellice Group) he was represented by a monolith instead of a living snake, but the Sky was pushed up off the earth by an eel.

² *Historical Collection of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, edited by Dalrymple.

Sun, a power highly to be desired for the crops, but not so desirable where it concerned the women-folk of the tribe. The men had no wish (apart from the danger) to take their brides already in a state of pregnancy brought about by the Sun, as it was supposed would often happen if the girl had been exposed to his influence. Consequently in most of the islands the girls were kept secluded in a comparative darkness before marriage; and in New Ireland and Tahiti this was carried out to an extreme degree, the wretched girls in the former place being kept for years in wicker cages in their homes, and never allowed out till after sunset, and then only in the vicinity of the cage¹; while in Tahiti the regulations were hardly less strict. In Fiji the young women had to undergo a temporary period of detention indoors from puberty until marriage, which usually took place soon after. They were during this time known as “Tabu Siga,” or forbidden to the Sun, and it was then that their “tatu-ing” was usually done.²

In Samoa the same custom must have once existed, for there is a folk-tale about a king's daughter, named Sinu-leana (“White-of-the-Cave”), who was kept secluded in a gloomy cavern. It tells how Tangaroa had once spied her near the entrance and would not be denied; and after sending various emissaries to fetch her, such as Thunder, Lightning, Rain, etc., he eventually lowered a net to the mouth of the cave, entangled her in it, and drew her up to the Sky. Their son was named Pili (“The Entangled”), and when

¹ *The Melanesians*, by Codrington.

² *Fiji and the Fijians*, by Williams;

he grew to manhood he received his father's permission to visit the earth, *and he taught the people irrigation*, making giant Taro courses at Upolu that stretched right across the island.

Similarly, in Tahiti, the Sun, as the Rainbow God, managed on one occasion to elude the vigilance of the parents, and crept in through an unguarded window. Eventually a girl baby was born, who was brought up by the gods out at sea on the great ocean, and was only returned at puberty to her mother. Hence it is stated her female descendants have always had to be taken to sea for their confinements.

The custom of secluding the girls from the Sun's rays until marriage was also followed in Indonesia and up into the Mediterranean (it is hinted at in the old Greek folk-tales); and the stories of it—if not the actual custom—were brought to us in England either by the Scandinavian vikings, or possibly even by the earlier Phœnicians. We know it well in the guise of “There was once a lovely princess, who was shut up in a tower by her father, the king.”

We have just now seen that the Fijian girl's “tatu-ing” was done indoors, during a particularly sacred time. So also was the “tatu-ing” of all Polynesian chiefs performed indoors, in strict seclusion. To ascertain the reason for this it will be necessary to glance at a typical Polynesian representative of the Sun-god. This was the divine Tui Tonga. His blood was so very sacred that it might not on any pretext be shed; he might not be incised, as all the rest of the Tongan males were at puberty; he alone might not cut his head or cheeks in mourning, even for the



PAPUAN CHILDREN, PAINTED, AT HANUABATA.

(Photo by R. Vincent, Esq., of Papua. By permission of Captain Giblin, M.C.)



nearest relative, as the other Tongans did; he alone might not be “tatu-ed”.¹ He could not give up his blood because he was almost the same as the god himself, and the god must not shed any of the divine blood; he needed all of it to keep his vitality strong for the great task of fertilizing the earth. So, in a minor degree, a Polynesian Sun-descended chief, full of divinity, should not give up overmuch of his blood, save in battle; and if his Sky-parent knew of it he would doubtlessly be very angry. Consequently it was done under the protecting shelter of a house.

But as the losing of the sacred blood was obviously a very solemn occasion, the youth himself became extremely “tabu” during the process, so much so that in New Zealand a chief might not touch his food with any part of his skin; he could not lift it with his hands, he could not have it in contact with his face. His food had therefore to be poured in a liquid state into his mouth through a sort of funnel by a slave; and some of these beautifully carved wooden food funnels may be seen in the British Museum.²

¹ The king-priest in the Cook Islands was also debarred from the “tatu,” and it would probably be found on investigation that it was not to be done by any other of the “divine kings,” not only in the Pacific but in other places where “tatu” might be practised among the rest of the people. We know that at one time the common people “tatu-ed” in Japan.

² The “Moko” or “Tatu” in New Zealand is a specialized form, and is not done by puncturing but by actually incising grooves, just as their wood-carving was done. The pigment was then rubbed in. This being more likely to cause inflammation even than ordinary “tatu-ing” it might be thought that the funnel was necessary because of the swollen face; but in certain other island groups where ordinary “tatu-ing” was carried on the men had also to be fed during the “tabu” period.

In the Marquesas, again, the operation was distinctly a religious ceremony, and the young man was closely secluded in the house while it was being done. So, too, was it a sacred affair in the Marshall Islands and, as we have seen, in the religious Fertility-cult of the Tahitian "Areoi" societies it was an essential feature.

Now, though both sexes were "tatu-ed" in Polynesia, it was, owing to the religious nature of it, a ceremony for men rather than for women. Women were very little "tatu-ed" compared with the men, and in their case there was no "tabu" associated with it. Among the true Melanesians, on the other hand, there being no religious feature about it, there was no special reason why the men should be "tatu-ed" at all, though they had their women-folk "tatu-ed" to ornament them and make them more attractive from a sexual point of view.¹ Thus we get the two main distinctions between Polynesian and Melanesian, viz., that in the former it was principally the men that were "tatu-ed," and not the women; while in the latter it was the women and not the men. The demarcation line is clearly shown falling between Fiji and Tonga; and the natives invented an anecdote to account for the discrepancy, saying that the idea

¹ It might be argued that if it was for ornamental purposes their lords and masters would also adopt it, with the child-like vanity of primitive races. So, no doubt, they would if it had been the slightest use, but "tatu" pigments simply do not show against their blue-black skins, so when ornament is required they use cicatrization, the raised weals showing up well. The women, having lighter and more delicate skins, can as a rule make use of real "tatu," though there are some islands where even *their* skins need cicatrization and not "tatu"

of “tatu” was originally taken from Fiji to Tonga by a messenger who was told before leaving that it was the correct thing to “tatu” the women and not the men. Being a rather dense young man, he had to repeat this to himself all the way over lest he should forget it, but unluckily on landing at Tonga he stubbed his toe on a stone, and promptly blurted out: “. . . ‘Tatu’ the men and not the women”!

Now it will have been noticed that the “tatu-ing” of Fijian girls took place at puberty. In Polynesia also, and in fact all over the Pacific, the operation was performed—on both sexes—at this time. (In East Papua after the first “kill”; in Tikopia the males after incision, the females at the first signs of puberty.) It would seem, then, from what has been mentioned above that it must be a religious rite connected with Fertility and the divinity of the Sun. In fact, in certain islands it is so essentially part of the religion that in the after-life the “untatu-ed” ones are turned back from Paradise.

It has been said that in some parts of the world “tatu-ing” originated as a tribal distinguishing sign, and was preceded by the more primitive painting. This may have been so in the case of the Polynesians long before their arrival in the Pacific, but the present religious significance seems to be of immense antiquity, even though the tribal distinctions may have still been kept up, possibly without knowledge of the reason. This may perhaps account for the special curvilinear type of “tatu” used by the Maoris, the Hawaiians, and the Easter Islanders, differing from the straight lines of most other island groups. In Indonesia the

Dyaks of Borneo and the Mantawai Islanders adopt the curvilinear pattern, and this may possibly be some clue to the special route of those Polynesians just mentioned.

In Papua and Easter Island we have the simple painting carried out side by side with the "tatu-ing"; but in the latter island the painting of little girls with concentric rings on the back, just as is depicted in many of the stone images, *was possibly because they had not yet arrived at puberty and so could not be "tatu-ed."*

I am afraid I have been digressing shamefully from the original subject of sacrifices to the Sun; but to me the problem of "tatu" and its reasons has always seemed particularly interesting. Before leaving this chapter a word must be said on the extraordinary "fire-walking" ceremonies, and of their connection with the Sun-cult and Fertility. The association, as far as Mythology is concerned, has been discussed on page 73.

I will not enter into a long description here; it is sufficient to say that it has been found in several places in the Pacific, *but only in the Polynesian part of it*, and has been much written upon. It is true that it is found in Fiji, but only in the distinctly "Polynesian" island of Benga (known in the ancient Polynesian traditions as Peka, see page 99),² and in this island only one section of the people can do it; while the power to perform it is looked upon by all, including the performers themselves, as something

¹ An old Easter Island custom described by Mrs. Routledge in *Folk-lore*, December, 1917.

² Williams (*Fiji and the Fijians*) records that long before the year 1800 the people of Benga asserted that they were the subjects of "the Sky."



A TATUED MAORI CHIEF, WEARING FLAX CLOAK.

(Photo by permission of the Agent-General for New Zealand.)

To face p. 172.

mysterious, handed down by their ancestors, and of a quasi-religious nature.

A wide shallow pit is made and a great fierce fire of timber kindled over the whole extent of it. Big smooth rounded stones are sandwiched between the firewood, and quickly get into an almost "red-hot" condition. The blazing timber is at last raked off, and the men, entering the pit and carrying sacred Ti-leaves in their hands, proceed to walk in bare-footed procession round it on the surface of the fiery stones, and apparently without suffering the least inconvenience. Many white people have witnessed these performances and examined the feet of the natives afterwards, and one white man at least (Dr. Craig, of Raratonga) has tried it himself, but only succeeded in burning his feet! The secret is probably either in some preparation which they put on their feet beforehand, or—what is more likely—in the extraordinarily thick hard soles of the people, which are not in contact with the stones for a sufficiently long time for the heat to attack the nerve-endings.

Now this ceremony is, or was, carried out in other parts of the world; in Indonesia (branching off to Japan, China, and Tibet), in India, back to Egypt, and even across the Mediterranean and up to Bulgaria. In India and Egypt palm-leaves were carried; in Fiji leaves of the sacred Ti; in China, actual images of the gods. And this last has given us a possible clue to the origin of the ceremony, for it has been suggested that the images of the gods were taken into the furnace to give them heat and "sunshine"; in other words to renew the vitality of the god. Is it not possible

that the palm-leaves (probably sacred) and the Ti-leaves (known to be sacred) are symbolic representations of the god?

The ceremony found in other parts of the world of "jumping through the fire"—with which may be associated the passing of ailing children through the hole in the prehistoric "ring stones" which were arranged so that the sun shone through them at special times—has probably a somewhat different origin, and is thought to be merely connected with the idea of Fire or Sun purification from disease.¹

This "renewal of vitality" is also evident in another custom in Tahiti, where, on the illness of a great chief, no fires were allowed throughout the island, the obvious idea being that as the vitality, well known to be the common possession of both the Sun (with its symbol the Fire) and of the Sun-descended chief, was getting less it would be exceedingly dangerous to waste still more of that precious energy or vitality by lighting numerous other fires. The association between the Sun-god and the Fire is, of course, very clearly shown in the altars with their "eternal fires" kept perpetually burning as the symbol of the Sun, and never allowed to die, lest—by means of that subtle sympathy clearly understood by primitive man—the Sun itself would in consequence die also. These eternal fires were kept up

¹ I have never been quite satisfied with this explanation as to the passing of people through the ring stones. My own theory (possibly others have thought of it, too) is that the "ring", like the "menhir", is a sexual emblem, and that the whole thing is the ancient idea of re-birth, which we have to this day in the Bible as "being born again to remove sin." In the Pacific there is the very old myth of Maui attempting to be born again to which there is a parallel folk-tale about Manu in India.

in Mexico, Peru, and other ancient abodes of Sun-worship ; and have come down to us as a relic in the ever-burning lamps of Hebrew Synagogues, and of Byzantine and Catholic Churches.

That the Fire was particularly sacred (merely as an emblem of the divine Sun) is shown by its constant association with the temples, as in Hawaii, Tahiti, Faka-ofu, and other places ; and also with the sacred burial grounds, as in Easter Island, where fires were kindled before the stone images, *which were erected at the burial places*. It is a distinctive feature, too, in the initiation ceremonies at Santo, in the New Hebrides, where "at each rise in rank the novice receives the new Fire, rubbed on a special stick, and decorated with flowers ; and certain ceremonies attend the cooking of the first food with this new Fire. It is then carefully tended in the fireplace, and if it goes out it has to be rubbed afresh with the stick."¹

The "tabu" nature of the Fire is also illustrated in other parts of the Pacific in the distinction between the sexes and their use of it ; for in the Marquesas it was strictly "tabu" for the women to cook at the men's fire, which had to be specially reserved for *their* food. In Tahiti the sacred turtle could only be cooked at the Sacred Fire in the temple, and not at any ordinary fire outside ; while in Samoa, as we have seen, the fire was vitalized anew each night and appropriate prayers offered up to the god. In the next chapter I propose to show how the sacred character of the Fire was associated with the sacrifices to the Sun-gods.

¹ *Two Years in the Western Pacific*, by Dr. Speisser.

CHAPTER XI

OTHER OFFERINGS TO THE SUN

WE have just seen how, in Tahiti, the sacred turtle could only be cooked at the Sacred Fire in the temple. Throughout Polynesia a very strict "tabu" surrounded the turtle, and on no account could it be eaten, even by the king, unless a portion of it had first been offered to the god. At Futuna the king had to remove its "tabu" ¹ before it could be divided out (page 151); and even the dividing out had to be most carefully performed, as it was a dish strictly for "the sons of the gods," and should any but the highest chiefs partake some evil fate would surely befall them. King Pomare of Tahiti in 1812 announced his breaking with the ancient religion of his forefathers for the new faith of the white men by first of all having a turtle cooked in his own kitchen, and next having it served up directly to him and the chiefs he had invited, without its being previously presented at the temple.² Despite

¹ If "unclean" in the language of the Bible did not mean merely "dirty" or "defiled," but rather "forbidden" or "tabu," then the turtle (or tortoise) comes under this heading in Leviticus xi. 29, as an ancient Semitic "tabu." In China it was an evil or unlucky animal, and the distinction between evil and "tabu" is merely nominal. Compare the "King's Evil."

² *Polynesian Researches*, by the Rev. William Ellis.

this bold example of their sacrilegious king none of the nobles dared to touch it, though at ordinary times they might have enjoyed it.

The division of a turtle being, therefore, a matter of careful etiquette and delving into ancestry, it brought on many a quarrel; and, indeed, was the cause of the last cases of cannibalism in the Lau Islands, when Tui Mavana (I knew his son well, he probably joined in the feast) being angry with Tui Yaro for eating a turtle that he considered should have been handed over to himself as senior chief, called together his men and nearly exterminated the Tui Yaro family, afterwards cooking and eating the slain. The sacred conch-trumpet was always blown by the returning canoes after the capture of a turtle, the only other similar occasion of its being blown was when they returned with human flesh. In fact, in the Lau Islands, human flesh was, by a euphemism, spoken of as "Vonu Balavu" or "Long Turtle."

There is a pretty little fairy story¹ told in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa Group of how a certain Samoan, named Lekambai, was once wrecked out at sea, and how he swam and swam until at last he drifted to a high rock set by itself in the ocean. He climbed this rock till at last he came to the Sky-kingdom. After he had rested, the Sky-god took compassion on him and told him that if he climbed down again he would allow him the use of the divine turtle upon which to be carried back to Samoa; but that he must be sure and give it, as a reward, a mat and a coco-nut

¹ *Tales from Old Fiji*, by L. Fison.

on arrival. On reaching Samoa Lekambai in his excitement forgot the turtle, and some time afterwards, on going to carry out the god's command, he found that the townspeople had killed it and were about to cook it. He explained to them the command of the Sky-god; and, not knowing what else to do, they decided to hide it, together with the mat and the coco-nut that Lekambai had brought, in the deepest grave ever dug. They took several days digging this grave, and thought they were unobserved save for a small child who was standing by watching the proceedings. But the Sand-piper of the Sky-king came down and lightly brushed the head of this child with its wings, upon which he became dumb.

Years went by, and still the child remained the same—dumb, and always a child. Generations went by, and still the child lived on. Then one day the King of Tonga, now the conqueror of Samoa, heard the tradition about the burying of the heavenly turtle, and at once said to his men, "This is surely a shell from which to make irresistible fish-hooks. It must be brought to me without fail." But when the Tongans went to Samoa to enquire about it no one knew the place of the grave. It had been forgotten many, many years ago. At last, just when the Samoans would have been slain by the wrathful Tongans the child recovered his voice and cried out, "Stay. I can show you. I know the place." Even the Samoans would not believe that the boy could know, as he had never been regarded as anything but a child; they had forgotten how long he had lived. But he showed

them the spot, and after much digging they recovered the shell, all but one piece. Fearing the king's anger at not getting the lot they decided to drift out to sea, anywhere, and at last reached Kandavu Island (Fiji), where their descendants have remained ever since.

I quote this story for two reasons; one is that it seems to throw a little sidelight on the "Tonga-Fiti" conquest of Samoa, which one may suppose to have taken place some time before A.D. 1250, and the other is that it implies some connection between the Sky-people and the turtle. The turtle symbol likewise appears frequently among the mysterious hieroglyphics of Easter Island, and I have supposed that this appearance may possibly be connected with the giant tortoise of the Galapagos Islands, and even with the tortoise of Peru.¹ And in the other direction, if one section of the Polynesian people really did come from India and the valley of the Ganges, as many indications seem to show, it may be found that the tortoise was once a particularly sacred object there—Indian scholars will know this better than I do; and in connection with this there should not be overlooked the magnificent great jade tortoise, now in the British Museum, from the Jumnah Valley, close to the Ganges.

But the turtle was not alone in being set apart for religious sacrifices, for two other varieties of flesh, curiously dissimilar, were also made use of for this purpose. These were pig and man. To understand something of the reason for the selection of pigs—generally considered as accursed, unclean beasts—

¹ The turtle or tortoise is a tribal totem in New Mexico.

for sacrifices, it will be necessary to wander a long way back, back to the mythology of the ancient world. And there we find the origin of the hatred, mingled with the fear, of this animal; for was it not the great Boar who once defied, and nearly killed, the Sun? ¹ What, then, is a more fitting sacrifice to appease the Sun's wrath?

This legend is one of the old astronomical myths of the world, and is found from the sunny plains of India to the ice-bound mountains of Scandinavia. But the Boar is the great emblem of Fertility, and therefore, if it were offered up to "feed" the Sun, the Sun could absorb its fertile powers, and become even yet more capable of producing fertility for the earth. This, probably, is the *real* reason of the sacrifice, and the legend was built up afterwards to account for it. Most of the great "Semitic" division of mankind sacrificed the Boar to Bel, the Sun-god,² (and probably, as was so often done, partook of the sacrifice afterwards) but the Hebrews abstained from eating it in any form, partly because they were ordered to forswear Bel and all his works,³ and partly, no doubt, owing to those extremely sensible laws of national hygiene drawn up in the Book of Leviticus; for truly

¹ The Phrygian Attis was killed by the Boar.

² This is why we have the Boar's Head at Yuletide, from our earliest "Iberian" ancestry in England, who were Semitic rather than Aryan.

³ Though they were soundly rated by the prophet Isaiah for backsliding, and eating pork, Sir Jas. Frazer considers that in earlier times pork was actually a sacred dish to them; but, being "tabu" and feared, gradually changed to being "unclean." In this there may be an analogy with the turtle, mentioned just now. In Egypt the pig was a loathed, unclean animal, yet eaten *once a year* as a sacred rite.

the scavenging pig is no fit meat for dwellers in hot climates.

Though the people of "modern" India, of the last two thousand years or so, are like the Hebrews in abjuring pork, they acknowledge one of their ancient deities, Vishnu, or Siva, in one form as a Boar-god; a relic handed down from their predecessors in the country. And if the Polynesians came from either India or from the great Semitic countries of Arabia and Mesopotamia one might expect them to have held the Boar as something specially apart from other animals; *if, indeed, they had such things as pigs during their early habitation of the Pacific*. Now the popular idea is that Captain Cook introduced pigs to the South Sea Islands, but this is quite a fallacy. Roggevein, in 1722, was convinced that the Easter Islanders knew and recognized pigs; though there were none actually at the time on this dry island, where the droughts had probably killed them off. Cook himself, when taking part at Hawaii in the ceremony of his own identification with the god Lono, found putrid carcasses of a recent sacrifice of pigs at the temple.¹ An old Tongan told Dr. Brown that his mother remembered pigs at feasts in that island before Captain Cook's arrival; in fact, there is no doubt whatever that they were in the Pacific before the famous Englishman, although he of course brought an improved European pig. And pigs were there even before the early Spanish voyagers, for they record finding them in

¹ Probably allowed to decay, just as the yam offerings at the Nanga ceremony, because it was entirely reserved for the god and too "tabu" to be divided up among the worshippers;

Melanesia. So the derivation of the name "Vuaka" from the Spanish or Portuguese "Puerca" is as much a fairy-tale as the famous derivation of the Fijian "Koli" (really the ancient Polynesian "Kuri") for "dog" from a chance acquaintanceship with a Scotch *Collie*. "Vuaka," or "Vua'a" is probably onomatopœic, from the pig's ordinary grunting. Dr. Rivers considers that pigs, like dogs and fowls, were introduced by the Polynesian immigrants many centuries before Cook or even the Spanish voyagers had ever heard of the Pacific. Owing to the long distances and the difficulties of keeping them alive, these pigs did not reach every island in the Pacific, though Captain Porter in 1813 records a definite tradition of them being brought "by a god called Hai'i" to the Marquesas some twenty generations before his time, which would work out at about A.D. 1300.

That pigs *were* regarded as in rather a different category from most other living creatures except man and turtle, the other two sacrificial objects, is shown in several ways. Its flesh, like theirs, was often "tabu" to commoners and to women (this was especially marked in the Marquesas). It was distinctly a creature for sacrifice, differing from dogs, fowls, fish, etc.¹ Its skulls were often preserved; and in parts of the New Hebrides, such as Efatu Island, its skulls were actually put in the grave with important men, and a fire kindled over all to ensure a safe return to the Sun!

¹ The Dyaks of Borneo, a Polynesian type of people, in the track of the Polynesians, to this day use pig's blood to purify the ground if they think some crime against the gods has been committed.—*Natives of Sarawak*, by Ling Roth.

Pigs played a most important part in the proceedings of secret societies, both in Melanesia and in the Areoi Society of Tahiti; and in the Nanga ceremonies of Fiji they were specially ear-marked, or rather tail-marked, for the sacrifice. Their flesh, "tabu" and wrapped in protecting leaves, was tasted by the initiates along with the sacred yam; and their still bleeding entrails were cast over other prone men to make them represent slain corpses. At Santo (New Hebrides), the chief man receives his offerings of pigs, and kills them while doing a solemn dance on a prehistoric dolmen, the use and meaning of which has been forgotten, though the vague memory remains of its association with the offerings of the boar. In Malikula the re-made "ancestors" lining the "gamal" or communal house (mentioned on p. 118) often carried a sacred conch-shell in the right hand and a pig's jaw in the left. At San Christoval (Solomon Islands) a pig is killed, without losing blood, by strangling; and a portion of the meat is then burnt at a fire on a stone altar, the priest afterwards pouring a coco-nut shell of blood, obtained on the cutting up, back on to this Sacred Fire.

It may be thought that if the pig were at one time held in such a peculiar position—hated, feared, sacrificed—it could hardly be relegated to the commonplace situation it has to-day of being a favourite article of food, a pet in the houses.¹ But it must be remembered that over a thousand years have

¹ In some islands it is nearly as common to see a pet pig following a man about as it is to see a dog; in others, the more primitive Melanesian ones, little pigs have been seen taken by a woman to her breast alternately with her baby!

elapsed since those times, the people have moved to a different quarter of the globe, and—especially in Melanesia—*have blended with other races*. But in some places, as I have shown, the dim memory yet remains of its being a creature to be sacrificed to the Sun, and connected with dolmens.

We now come to that last and greatest sacrifice of all, the sacrifice of man. Here again it is necessary for us civilized creatures of the twentieth century to step out of ourselves for a moment and glance at things from a different perspective, to see things from the view-point of people who lived one or two thousand years ago; for that is really the vision with which these isolated peoples of the Pacific looked until some few score years since. It was manifest to them that the Sun needed sacrifices of fertile things, such as First-fruits and the Boar, in order that it might make the earth fertile; but even more important than the temporary benefit of a good harvest was the dread possibility that without new vigour instilled into it the Sun might actually *die*. Hence the most powerful sacrifice of all was needed.

This dread, I think, rather than the mere desire to appease wrath, influenced the sacrifice of a child if the harvest failed, and similarly if the life of the king (the Sun in human guise) looked like failing. This latter was done in Tonga when Mariner was actually there, as a last resource after the dying king had been carried round to all the different temples in vain. It was only an extension of this idea that caused the relatives of chiefs to follow suit; and occasionally, almost in despair, to sacrifice a child,



ONE IDEA OF THE GREAT SUN-GOD,
TANGAROA, THE CREATOR, FROM
THE AUSTRAL GROUP, TO SHOW THE
"BUDDING-OFF" OF MANKIND.

*(Photo by permission of the British Museum and
London Missionary Society.)*



for the Tongans were really the gentlest and kindest-hearted of people where children were concerned. And I think a minor degree of the same custom was the lopping off of a finger (at one time common among people of Polynesian descent) ¹ at a funeral—a partial human sacrifice, it might be called—made in order that the power of the newly-created deity in miniature (the late chief) might quickly grow strong. For the soul that had flown back to the light and radiance of the great ancestor of all, in the Sky, was really considered as a sort of out-growth, once separated off from the parent stem and now re-absorbed. A good illustration of this is seen in the effigy of the god Tangaroa (now in the British Museum) and the little separate atoms of mankind “budding off” him.

Baal himself, when a ruler upon the earth, is said to have offered up his most precious sacrifice, his only son; and from that arose the custom of child-sacrifices to Moloch (the word means simply “the King,” and stands for Baal) in order that the Sun might be strengthened. They were the “first-born,” the “First-fruits” for the Sun-god. The image of Moloch was made with out-stretched arms, and so delicately balanced that on a child being placed in his hands he tilted forward, casting the sacrifice to the flames below.²

That children in Samoa were once sacrificed is

¹ I remember when I first went out to Fiji the shock it used to give me, till I got used to it, on shaking hands with some of the older natives and feeling a finger missing.

² The sacrifice of Abraham is recalled to mind; and the valley of Tophet, of ill-omen, acquired its reputation from these child sacrifices to the fires of Baal.

shown by the custom that remained long afterwards of placing a child on certain occasions in a *cold* fire-pit, a pretence that persisted like the fiction of circumcision at Savage Island.

In Ruviana and Ysabel Islands, in the Solomons, children were sometimes sacrificed in the hope of saving the lives of men of chiefly standing, and Dr. Guppy writes regarding one such occasion :—

“ . . . everything that had been done proving of no avail, the efficacy of a human sacrifice was next tried. Men were sent to steal a victim. A child about three or four years old was fixed upon . . . and there, beside the dying man, the victim's throat was cut, and as the life blood ebbed away the old man called upon the Tindalo to take the life he now was offering in lieu of that he hoped to save . . . ”

Though it was not only children but grown men who were called for if the vital necessity of the Sun demanded it. The clearest instances of this, perhaps, were found in Hawaii and Tahiti; and in ancient Mexico, where, after the zenith of midsummer, it was feared that the Sun would slowly disappear and *die* if not “replenished” by the living heart of a man. Such sacrifices, of course, meant cruelty, but they argued that it were better that one man should suffer than the whole world die. Our own religion is full of traces of such ancient cults, blended, altered, and improved almost beyond recognition as man grows more civilized. In Japan they ceased the actual sacrifices of man about two thousand years ago, and substituted images of clay. But it would seem a strange god that demanded the sacrifice—for that is

what it amounted to—by fire, and alive, of “ 5 bishops, 21 clergymen, 8 lay gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 labourers, 55 women, and 4 children ” between the years A.D. 1554 and 1558 in this England of ours !

Native traditions tell us that human sacrifices were instituted at Tahiti together with the worship of the god Oro, Lono, or Rongo ; and again that the practise was first introduced to Hawaii from Tahiti some time between A.D. 1000 and 1250. We may surmise (page 106) that it was also first started in the Cook Islands about the same date, and the same god Rongo is associated with the custom. So that it almost looks as if one race of people migrating over the Pacific carried the idea of human sacrifices with it.

In Samoa there are several early traditions, wrapped in the guise of myth, regarding human sacrifices, such as at Papatea, where it is said that once upon a time the Sun demanded the sacrifice of a human being, and that soon the habit grew strong upon him, so that he must have them more and more frequently and in larger numbers. Nothing would satisfy him, and at last there came a time when for eighty days in succession many men were being offered up twice daily, at sunrise and at sunset, so that there was weeping throughout the land. Now there was a beautiful girl named Ui, whose younger brother was the next one marked down for the sacrifice, so she decided to fly with him to another island and escape all these terrible demands of the Sun. They reached Manua Island ; and here, too, they found that the sacrifices were going on, so in desperation she offered to marry the Sun if he would stop his calls for the

sacrifices of men. He consented, and from that time dated its cessation in Samoa.

Dr. Stair was told another Samoan legend that once a man was offered up every sunrise on a Pandanus tree, and that the tradition supposed that the people who did it came from the Union Group.

It is difficult to read between the lines in these tales, except that human sacrifices were once apparently very common in Samoa, and possibly in the Union Group; and that they were connected with Sun-worship. In Hawaii we have unfortunately actual evidence in a case that reaches nearer home to us, for it was there that the flesh of Captain Cook was offered up on a sacrificial fire . . . "on a hearth raised 18 inches above the ground and circled by a curb of rude stones, in a small enclosure about fifteen feet square surrounded by a wall five feet high."¹

It will be noticed, by the way, that once more it is the god Rongo, Oro, or Lono that is associated with the human sacrifice. There was also said to be a god on Maui Island (Hawaiian Group) called Ke-oro-eva, whose temple had an inner compartment containing an altar for sacrifices. And I think it may be the same one as that Oro-keva that was mentioned in the tale of Akapura and her ten brothers, in Chapter VII. Oro was the god of War, but in some parts of the Pacific the Sun-god was also the War-god. Would it be beyond probability to consider the Egyptian Hor, the Rajput Hor, and the Pacific Or-o as one and the same god? This has been suggested before, and I do not think the suggestion should be lightly thrust aside.

¹ Ellis, *Tour Through Hawaii*, 1826.

CHAPTER XII

CANNIBALISM

WE now come to what is to most people the strangest and most revolting custom that has ever existed on the face of the earth—Cannibalism. It is thought that people who practise this must be the most degraded outcasts of humanity, sunk to the lowest depths, worse than the ravening beasts. But, like many other things, it is, after all, a matter of perspective. As one learned and much-loved missionary once wrote :—

“ . . . There is something so repulsive to us in the idea of cannibalism that most people, I think, picture the people who indulge in it as being particularly ferocious and repulsive. The fact is that many of them are no more ferocious than other races who abhor the very idea of eating the human body. Many cannibals, indeed, are very nice people, and except on very special occasions there is no apparent difference between them and non-cannibal tribes. . . .”

At my first station in Fiji, in the Singatoka district, which extended up to the Tholo Mountains in the interior, I knew some highly respectable old gentlemen with venerable white beards and benevolent countenances, who delighted to sail toy boats on the river to amuse their small grandchildren. These were notorious ex-cannibals, but their dignified manners

and gentle politeness would have set an example to many London drawing-rooms to-day.

Most customs of "uncivilized" people are to us strange, many are revolting until we look on them with an understanding eye, and learn the reason and cause of their origin. And though cannibalism in the Pacific, and especially in Fiji, eventually degenerated into the most horrible practices imaginable, yet the origin of it was inspired by the simple religious rites of a mild-mannered people.

After their labours in their gardens or among the herds, humble thanks for the bounty of the god, and prayers for a plentiful harvest were offered up, together with the first young shoots of the crop and the first offspring of the herd. A morsel of these was partaken of by the worshippers *with* the god, in order that part of the health, strength, and fertility of the sacrifice might pass to them also. And so their descendants, moving on to the Pacific, continued the practice; and even when a human being was required by the great Sky-god, a tiny portion had to be tasted by the worshippers to complete the ceremony. In Hawaii quite early records show that only the priest was supposed to share the offering, and he only *pretended* to eat, though this probably was a late survival from still earlier times when the priest, and the worshippers also, had to eat. In Mindanao, in the Philippines, the priest alone had to taste the flesh. In course of time, as the Polynesians degenerated, the worshippers partook more and more of this "burnt offering," until a positive liking for the cooked flesh was engendered, especially when it is remembered that they were not

really a vegetarian race and had not been able to bring their animals (sheep and cattle) with them; and that even their pigs were at first few in number, reserved for sacrifices, and had not survived the journey to all the islands.

Quite a different origin of cannibalism as practised in the Pacific was that caused by "magic." This was, as may be expected, found among the Melanesians, and developed along different lines; but converged and joined with the other variety when the aborigines and the negroid Melanesians mingled with the immigrant Polynesians, not only in the Western, but also in the Eastern, Pacific. This "magic" was the fear of the ghost of the dead man and what it could do. If you had slain a man, his ghost would injure you unless you had been careful to incorporate a bit of him inside you, in which case he would refrain, as he would then be obviously only hurting himself! To us it may seem a poor sort of argument, but to the primitive man it was the soundest of logic. That both these principles of cannibalism eventually degenerated into the two evil passions of sheer gluttony and revenge (and I put gluttony first as being the more bestial of the two) will be shown later.¹

¹ It has often been suggested that cannibalism was caused by the desire to acquire certain of the envied properties of the slain. So it was, but I have already started off with this as the first and primal cause, namely, the partaking of the sacrifice of a fertile object *with the god*. The sacrifice was considered to become incorporated with the god, and after it had been offered up and tasted by him you were really partaking of the actual body of the god, and acquiring his virtues. It is needless to enlarge upon this point, but parallels in modern religions will occur to every one.

If we now look at some of the ceremonies connected with cannibalism we shall plainly see how it was originally a purely religious rite; and we can trace the gradual degeneration of the practice to the culminating point of horror which was reached in Fiji during the first half of the last century.

From Prescott's description we have a very good idea of the sacrificial ceremony, ending in the partaking of the flesh, as it occurred in Mexico. The living man was bent backwards on the sacrificial altar on the top of the pyramid, the priest killed him by a stab in the chest, and, cutting out the heart, held it up for a moment in silent offering to the great Sun. The image of the god was then "fed" (it was Huitzilopochtli, god of War, who was, as elsewhere, closely associated with the Sun) and in the feeding process its countenance became reddened with the sacrificial blood. The rest of the body was then cast down to the great crowd of worshippers reverently standing below, that each might partake of a small portion with the god. Throughout the ceremony a special drum was rolling out its call, telling the world that a sacrifice was being offered to the Sun.

Unfortunately we had no Prescott in the Pacific at the period when human sacrifices in their early religious form were prevalent, and can only draw our conclusions from the customs that lingered on afterwards, and from the stone remains of the pyramids, temples, and altars that in many places still defy the hands of time. These stone remains I propose to describe in a later chapter; and at present shall confine myself to a survey of the customs that show

how cannibalism, even at its worst in Fiji, was never entirely forgotten as having been originally a sacred rite and associated with the ancient religion of their forefathers.

Cannibal feasts in Fiji have been so often written about by white eye-witnesses, Waterhouse among them, that it is really unnecessary here to describe one. I will merely give the leading features of a typical one that any of my old friends mentioned above might have taken personal part in at Singatoka. The first thing noticed by the old men and women left in the village would be the distant booming of the conch-shells on the returning canoes of the warriors, announcing victory and a return with "bakola" or bodies of the slain. The men would then begin to prepare the "lovo" or great shallow pits in the earth, lined with stones, for cooking the feast; while the women would dress themselves up in leaves and necklaces (their usual dress was nothing but a narrow grass girdle when I first arrived in that district) and troop down to the beach to meet the heroes of the hour. As the canoes neared the shore a special "bakola" yell, a peculiar shriek, would proceed from the men on board. (I have heard my men give, in moments of excitement, the same triumphant yell, but now adapted to a different purpose, when an exceptionally large fish had been secured in my fish-fence and was being dragged up the beach.) They also started to dance the "thimbi," or death-dance, which was responded to from the beach by the women, who each minute were getting more excited, and who—on the bodies being cast ashore—proceeded to perform a

licentious dance before them, with various indescribable actions, no doubt a vestige of the Fertility-cult that was in former times associated with the offering to the Sun that was about to be made. The bodies were then dragged up the beach and hastily carried to the priest at the temple,¹ where they were formally offered up to the god. (At Bau all of them, whether dead or still living, were at this time brained by being dashed against a monolith just outside the temple. This, I have no doubt, was originally intended as a phallus, and is one more association with the Fertility-cult; at the same time the action dissipated the malignant power contained in the head, as described on page 119. The stone is still there, but now used, I believe, as the base of a font in the Wesleyan church.) *Throughout the ceremony a special drum-beat, called "Derua," and only sounded at this time, was rolling out, announcing to all that the bodies were being offered up.*

The next stage was to prepare the "bakola" for the oven, and this was done by an experienced butcher, who, taking a knife of split bamboo² (sharp as a razor, as any one who has lived in the tropics knows; and re-sharpened by the simple process of splitting off another thin slice from the same piece) proceeded to

¹ This offering up to the god was *essential*. Even when they were gradually being turned from cannibalism by the combined persuasions of missionaries, white settlers, and captains of men-of-war they could not for a long time forego this part of the ritual. The missionary Waterhouse notes with triumph that on Verani and his followers being ambushed and killed by Tui Levuka and his men, Tui Levuka for the first time agreed to relinquish the bodies, and that "after presenting them at the temple" (sic) he handed them to him, the missionary, to bury.

² This bamboo knife was usually taken from a grove of bamboo specially "tabu-ed" for this purpose.

dismember the body. An eye-witness describes the quick neat way it was done, by first disarticulating the four limbs at the hips and shoulders ; next opening the abdomen with a deep straight incision and removing the viscera ; and finally severing the soft parts of the neck with a circular sweep and twisting the head off the vertebral column. The bodies were then removed to the “lovo,” the stones being by this time red hot, and covered over with a thick layer of leaves, and over the whole about a foot of earth or sand was shovelled, making an enclosed oven for steaming, on the same principle as “paper-bag” cookery. I can testify to the excellence of this way of cooking as far as pigs are concerned.

Vegetables were cooked in a similar but separate “lovo,” and special ones were introduced that had the power of counteracting the dread “tabu” that all knew (another memory of the ancient days) to be associated with this sacrificial feast. These were the Malawathi, Tundao, and Boro-dina.

After this first cooking, the bodies were then re-divided into smaller parts, so that every family in the town should have a portion, even if it were only a very little piece indeed ; and—contrary to usual custom—this was taken into the houses and eaten behind closed doors after a second cooking in a special “tabu” pot. It was “tabu” or forbidden food to the women, and even by the men it had to be eaten with a special wooden fork, a unique implement for natives, who, *for all other foods*, dipped their fingers in the dish (as our Elizabethan ancestors did). Should, at any subsequent ordinary meal, food be eaten which

by accident had been cooked in the "bakola" pot, something very dreadful would happen, the least result being that one's teeth would drop out. The Roko-tui or king-priest (or his representative priest at smaller functions) had to see that every morsel of the "bakola" was consumed. Waterhouse describes this as follows: "... the remaining portions were diligently collected by the titular king, whose peculiar province it is to see that the bodies are consumed. . . . To make the hashed meat more palatable he caused it to be made up with coco-nut into 'vakalolo,' or puddings. . . ."

Another curious thing is that the Fijian, usually so extremely particular about the slightest suspicion of taint in his food—a wise precaution in hot climates—could and did partake of this "sacred" food even when in a more than merely tainted condition; and apparently without harm to himself.¹ There is no doubt that a rapid degeneration of the people as regards cannibalism took place between the end of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth, when it sank from a religious tasting of the temple offering to a gluttonous desire for quantities of this particular food. And so great did the desire become that the tainting of the meat was never allowed to be a bar to the satisfying of one's appetite. It is recorded that in 1853 a canoe, sailing from one Fijian island to another, capsized, and her crew of sixteen drifted on to an intermediate island ten miles from

¹ Of course we eat pheasant in a positively smelling state, and cheese that wriggles with putrefaction, but we are people on an altogether higher plane!

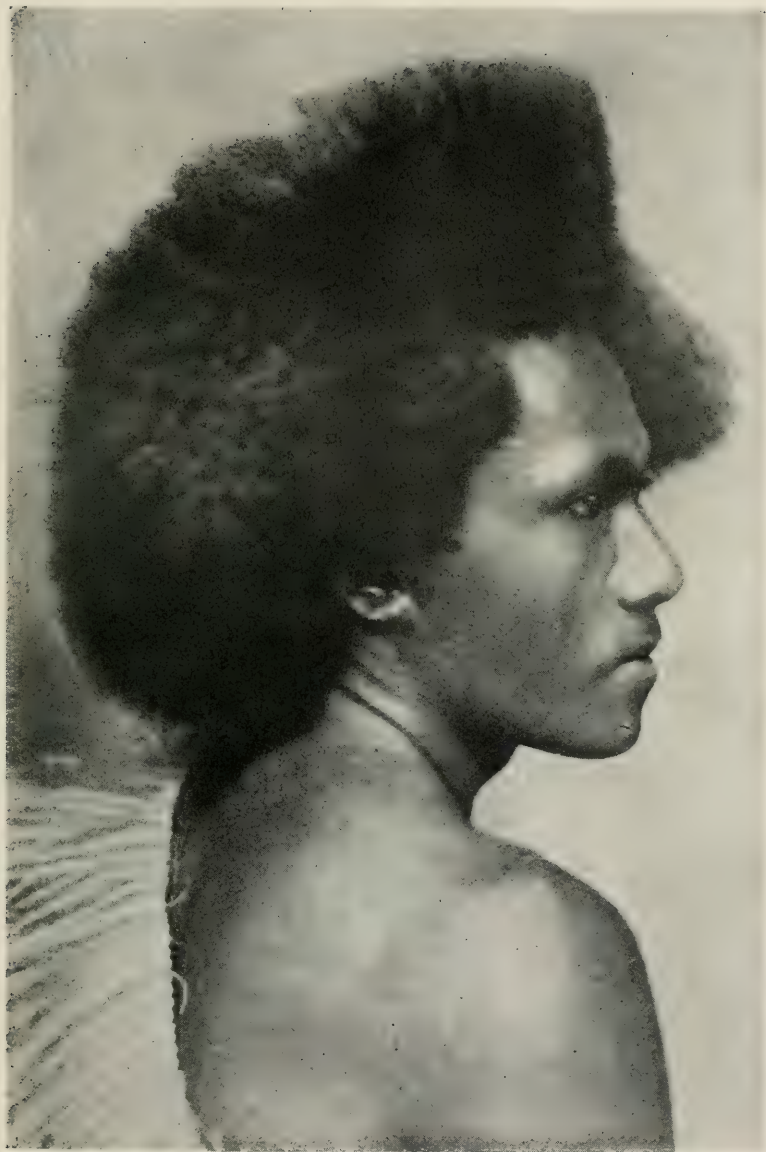
Ovalau. Here they were promptly killed (on the “salt water in the eyes” theory) and eaten; but parts of the bodies floating away from where they had been staked in shallow water, drifted to Ovalau, and were there at once eaten by the people “although in a much decayed condition”. At Moala Island the natives on one occasion deliberately exhumed some bodies for “bakola”; while a Jew storekeeper, probably fearing a similar fate, actually on his death-bed persuaded Calvert, the leading missionary, to send his body to his wife in Sydney in a cask of rum!

As a matter of fact whites were seldom eaten (the natives said they tasted “too salt”) and I think there was always a lurking fear of the white man’s superior “tabu” hovering around him. During the whole time that missionary enterprise in Fiji synchronized with cannibalism only one missionary was killed, and he really brought it on himself through ignorance of native ways and an obstinate defiance of their ancient customs. They even went to the extent of warning him on more than one occasion.

But there was no such compunction where their own people were concerned, and if some of the episodes here given are revolting, it is only to show to what depths this “Melanesian branch” of the Polynesian race could sink, when the torch of unrestricted license was applied to the fuel of negroid bestiality inherited from the aboriginal side of their ancestry.

There was a time in Fiji when the whole race was split up into a number of small communities, little

republics, *that had no intercourse with each other*, exactly as to this day exists in the similar Melanesian areas, as, for instance, the Solomon Group. Consequently there was very little real fighting, merely occasional skirmishes, because each party was afraid of the unknown and consequently magnified the strength of the other. As a result there were not many bodies for cannibalism to be practised upon, *and there were no large masses of serfs to be taken wholesale into the conqueror's dominions*, to be regarded as mere chattels, and in the light of herds of animals waiting for the feast. Thus a king or chief had only his own small tribe to hold sway over, and they were all his relatives, all descendants of the same ancestor, all co-chiefs—even in a minor degree—with him. And they would brook no undue cruelty or despotism on his part ; in fact the chief was a very small person. The period I speak of was, of course, long after the ancient Polynesians had left Fiji. Then, from the interior, came down the Bau people, descendants, as I have supposed, of the Polynesians, but tainted with perhaps centuries of slow mingling with the aboriginals and their bestial ideas, and proceeded to establish a kingdom, an empire, on the coast ; absorbing whole tribes from other parts as their serfs and vassals, and holding unlimited and unchecked sway. The natural result was that these children, for they *were* but children, by unbridled license became changed from a mild-mannered people to a brutal race of savages, when once their animal passions were aroused. They now had slaves, chattels, to do what they liked with, and the sequence was only natural. Cruelty reigned



AN EASTERN FIJIAN.

Note the Polynesian face and Melanesian hair.

(Photo from Government Handbook, Fiji.)

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supreme ; they knew no better.¹ They inherited from their Polynesian ancestors a vague memory of the ceremonial ritual of partaking with the god at the sacrificial feasts (and this observance they had no doubt kept up in a rough form all the time), but with the new ideas, the numerous wars to need frequent sacrifices to the gods, *and the unlimited supply of material for the sacrifice*—which must be entirely consumed,² the partaking of the body took on a new guise and degenerated into wholesale cannibalism.

Jealous rivalry and conceit—two other childish traits—were also prominent factors. Other tribes with a certain amount of Polynesian blood still left in them, such as the people of Rewa, were about this time able to subdue their neighbours and found kingdoms ;³ and even in times of peace much jealousy existed between the big chiefs, while the same childish vanity reflected itself in the minor chiefs also. In the time of Thakambau, the last King of Fiji (who ended up as a man of fine moral character and a loyal supporter of the British Government, dying, respected by all,

¹ Even to the civilized Romans, slaves were merely chattels and could be thrown into the ponds to fatten carp for a gourmand's meal, or tied up alive for the beasts to give sport to the élite of Roman society. The abhorrence of cruelty, either to men or to animals, is a modern idea even in England, while it has hardly yet started in many continental nations.

² Compare the Semitic "Pascal-lamb"; and also "the peculiar province of the titular king" just mentioned.

³ Both these two kingdoms of Bau and Rewa were largely helped to prominence by the aid of "beach-combers" with one or two old fowling-pieces, more deadly against natives armed only with clubs and stones than a howitzer against troops armed only with rifles.

in 1881)¹ the Butoni people came in on a ceremonial visit, and the different chiefly families of Bau vied with each other to provide feasts for their visitors. Now Bau happened just then not to be at war with any one, so there was rather a dilemma as to "bakola." The first night's feast, however, passed off successfully by the Vusaradavé family being able to trap two men on a small islet not far off.

But when Thakambau's turn came he was not going to be outdone by the others, so he exercised his prerogative as conqueror of Rewa and ordered the town of Nasilai to provide sufficient "bakola" to beat his rivals. Unfortunately only one man was forthcoming, so the Lasakau people—whose duty it was to provide both fish and "bakola" for the Bau autocrats—were ordered to procure a further supply. The Lasakau warriors thereupon ambushed fourteen women and one man, a truly heroic feat, and though the missionaries' wives managed to beg off three of them (this was in the declining years of cannibalism) the remainder became Thakambau's feast for the Butoni guests. He would at this time really have been satisfied to furnish pigs as his contribution had his vanity not been in question.

Again, in 1854 the Bau people made an unsuccessful raid on Sawakasa, a town up the coast. On nearing Bau, on their return, they proceeded to dance the "thimbi" on one of themselves, laid out on the deck to represent a corpse, rather than have their conceit mortified by the jeers of their fellow-townspople.

¹ His postage-stamps, with C.R. for Thakambau Rex (Fijian spelling) are a desideratum for every schoolboy's stamp-album.

They then crept in after dark and pretended they had already held their feast outside the town. On another occasion a Bau chief, recently appointed governor of a conquered province, ordered his new subjects to prepare a food presentation for him to take in to the King at Bau. But when it arrived it struck him that his own importance would be considerably enhanced if he added "bakola" to it, so he had two of the bearers of the food tribute killed, and sent the whole offering along—the present of "a great man." But the most extraordinary instance of the lot was that of three rival villages in comparatively recent times, who each prepared a feast to celebrate the opening of a school, and who each killed a man to put on the top of the pile of food, thinking to go one better than their neighbours! ¹

These, however, were only small affairs compared to some of the great cannibal feasts that have been recorded. In 1862 Captain Jenkins of H.M.S. *Miranda* wrote that the Serua people "had just eaten five men and forty women and children at one time." In 1853 Tui Kilakila, an important chief, had a hundred men cooked for one feast at Natewa, on Vanua Levu Island. On the victory of Bau over Rewa between four and five hundred men were killed and eaten, Thakambau clubbing to death his own brother-in-law, the King of Rewa, after he had surrendered.

Captain Erskine, R.N., on a visit to Fiji in H.M.S. *Havannah* in 1849, noticed that all the lower branches of a big tree outside the temple at Bau had been lopped off. On making enquiries he was told that this had

¹ Official correspondence *re* Fijian native population, 1885.

been done to make room for the huge mound of eighty bodies presented to the god and afterwards eaten a few weeks before. At Bouma it is recorded that once it took two whole days to do the cutting up and cooking of the bodies, and that they were actually too many to eat !

Thakambau once punished, in a peculiarly revolting manner, the Namena people for rebellion. It appears that Wainiu, his own brother, decided to submit no longer to his rule, and fled to his mother's place at Somo Somo, persuading on the way the Namena people also to turn against Thakambau. He thought, too, that he had succeeded in getting Verani, a powerful chief, and through him the Christians of Viwa, on to his side ; for Christianity was beginning to be used by the chiefs, as in the old Roman days, as a pawn in politics. But Verani only promised in order to betray ; for he arranged that Thakambau and his Bau warriors should at the critical moment fire blank cartridges at the Viwa men, who would have retired into the Namena stockade, and that these Viwa men should thereupon admit the enemy and join with them in attacking Namena. This happened as arranged, and over a hundred of the Namena people were killed and taken to Bau and eaten. (Eighty women who had fled into the hills were, according to custom, strangled by their friends on the news arriving about their husbands.)

But the most horrible thing of the whole lot was Thakambau's special punishment to two selected men as a warning against rebels. First of all their veins were opened and a certain amount of blood drunk

in banana-leaf cups ; then their arms and legs were cut off and cooked and eaten in their presence ; then their tongues were drawn out with fish-hooks and cut off and roasted and eaten ; and as they were not yet quite dead their entrails were finally removed through a hole in their sides after the manner of killing turtle !

Cruelty had apparently no meaning at all. (One wonders whether the "civilized" child, who tears wings off flies, if left to grow up absolutely unchecked and with ever-increasing facilities put in his way to be cruel, would end up by being a monster ? It may be only a matter of education and environment after all, but it is a problem, anyhow, that one hopes could not occur.) A couple more instances of this utter lack of feeling for others will suffice to finish this unpleasant subject. One day the King of Rewa had a badly-cooked meal served up to him. He had the cook, a woman, sent for. "What is your hand given you for but to cook my food ?" said he ; and turning to a man standing by he ordered him to chop it off. "Now let her eat it," he added ; and it was promptly thrust into her mouth. But lest it should be wasted it was then taken away and cooked and brought in again as a dish for supper !

On another occasion Thakambau, after a conquest at Verata, ordered all the children of the town to be taken back to Bau and tied to trees, so that his own boys could be well trained in the use of the bow and arrow. This order was carried out, and these wretched children were thus done to death by slow torture. Yet this same Thakambau, having given up cannibalism and heathenism (both, I think, merely through

the stern pressure of political necessity at the time) did eventually become a completely changed man, for which every credit should be given to the missionaries, and also the better class of white settlers, who were now beginning to drift into the country.

At the beginning of this chapter I quoted a paragraph that pointed out that cannibals were not necessarily ferocious. After what I have just written it might be thought that this statement must be incorrect, but it is not so. Fathers, still gory with the blood of recent victims, have been seen returning to the village to play with their small sons ; in fact, even in the earliest days of white settlers, a Fijian man was always found to be the gentlest and kindest of nurses for white children, and is so down to this day. The explanation is that these revolting feasts were very good examples of the influence of "crowd psychology" upon easily swayed minds. Ordinarily a mild-mannered person, a South Sea Islander when in a mob loses all self-control, and blindly lets himself go to the passion of the moment. A description of a very degenerate orgy is here given from an old book, showing what could occur the moment the restraint of ceremony was removed.

" 'Do what you like with them !' said the king. Whereupon there rose a sudden yell. A great rush was made down to the water-side, and the bodies were dragged hither and thither, as the people struggled with one another over them, many clutching at the same body, cutting them up from limb to limb, tearing them asunder, and snatching the pieces out of each other's hands. And the yells rose louder and

louder as the people grew ever fiercer in their eagerness, women and children also mingling with them in the struggle, their shrill voices rising high amid the uproar. . . .”

This crowd instinct is well seen to-day in the religious “revival meetings” occasionally held in Tonga and the Lau Islands, and called the “Polotu.” On these occasions the people of both sexes throw reserve to the wind and stir themselves up to a supreme pitch of religious fervour, ranting and declaiming and decanting, confessing their sins, and generally carrying on in an altogether extraordinary fashion. It was this same instability of mental equilibrium that was the cause of the wholesale “wildfire conversions” when first the missionaries came amongst them, and when the people had received permission from the chiefs to “try the white man’s gods.”

It is a relief to leave these scenes of cannibalism, as it was at its worst in Fiji, from the time of the transformation of small republics into big monarchies (I speak, of course, in relative terms) down to a few years before the ceding of the country to Great Britain in 1875. The final episode occurred about ten years before I arrived in the Colony, when there was, in 1895, a small uprising in the Mathuata Province, and *after presenting “kava” at the grave of the ancestor for his help (!)* these chapel-goers of Seaganga town set upon a loyal town near them, and having succeeded in killing two men, cooked them and ate them. It is to be hoped that this will be the last case to blot the history of Fiji, but there is always that “crowd psychology” question to be dealt with.

Before turning to the one or two remaining customs that once had a now forgotten origin in Sun-worship, it may be interesting to refer again for a moment to the ceremonial part of a cannibal feast, and see how the ritual was influenced by an earlier set of rites. First of all the sacred conch-shell is blown, a trumpet characteristic of religious ceremonies such as the presentation of First-fruits and the burial of Sun-descended chiefs. The conch was reverently placed in the right hand of the ancestor gods at Malikula Island, and it has also been found under peculiar circumstances as a relic of a dead and forgotten people in Samoa, in a spot untrodden for centuries, where an ancient one had been carefully left on the top of a hidden dolmen in the mountains of Upolu, to be referred to later.

Then the "thimbi" or death-dance, responded to with licentious movements by the women on shore, surely significant of a Fertility meaning in the sacrifice. Then, like ancient Mexico, the actual presentation to the god at the temple (which, by the way, was always on the top of a high mound, even a pyramid in early days, according to old descriptions); the special drum-beat (possibly originally to drown the victim's cries—an unwilling victim at the ancient Semite sacrifices was considered unacceptable to the god); and the subsequent distribution of the flesh among the worshippers.

The "tabu" nature of the meat and all connected with it is of special interest. The sacrificial knife must be from a sacred grove, the cooking pots are surrounded with a deadly "tabu," the meat must not be touched by the hands but partaken of with a

“tabu” fork. Certain vegetables are eaten to counteract the dangerous “tabu” when the meat gets inside the stomach, and—like all other things concerning the gods—it is “tabu” to the women-folk.

The king-priest, probably dressed in fillet and breast-plate, had to see that every particle of it had been consumed (a vivid picture of the Hebrew “Pascal-lamb” ceremony), and the origin of the eating of it, even if tainted, probably arose from this, the meat going bad very quickly in hot climates, yet the sacred duty being paramount. Finally, a special language was employed for everything connected with the ceremony, just as it was also used for the gods and the chiefs, the Sky-people.

Everything points to its being an ancient Polynesian ceremony, handed down from Semitic ancestors, and garbled and confused in the general degeneration that occurred in the Pacific, which was enhanced by the mixture with the Melanesian negroid element. There is only one more rather surprising thing to be mentioned, and that is that certain tribes in Fiji never, from first to last, partook of this loathsome dish of their fellow-creatures ; and the reason for this I propose to discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

TOTEMS ; KAVA ; AND NAMES

I HAVE just stated that certain tribes in Fiji never indulged in cannibal practices. This somewhat extraordinary distinction in a nation that is, or rather was, almost wholly cannibal becomes easy to understand when we consider the question of belief in the after-life of the soul. Primitive man not only believes that after the death of the body the soul will still continue to live, but he even believes that the soul may on occasion become separated from the body while the latter is still alive. (I have often noticed how a servant will waken a chief very carefully and gradually, by scratching on his sleeping-mat—they have done the same to me—so that the absent soul might have plenty of time to reach the body, which it can only do without risk when the body is asleep, or in a semi-waking condition.)

It is perfectly clear, he argues, that if, for instance, the body is asleep in a canoe out at sea, yet during that time the person has been home to his village, seen and talked to people, *and on waking remembers what white men call the "dream,"* the soul must have made the journey.

In fact, in some countries, such as Sumatra, he



BIRD AND FISH CARVING. GAMAL AT AHIA, ULAWA, SOLOMON ISLANDS.
(By permission of the Melanesian Mission.)

will say more than this, and declare that the soul may be split up, one part remaining in the body while the other parts wander about in separate men, animals, or things. His mental outlook on things supernatural, or what he considers supernatural, is confused; he is apt to mix up abstract ideas and concrete facts, just as a child does.¹ And thus with primitive man, owing to the fluidity of his ideas, which wander out of the separate compartments in which they are strictly restrained by civilized people, there arose the cult of Totems.

This is specially marked in North America and Australia, and is found in the Pacific among Melanesian people, and a part of the Polynesian people. It has been suggested that the earlier Polynesian immigrants did not bring with them a totem-cult, but that it was built up among them, after their arrival, upon a foundation of a belief in re-incarnation—which they *did* bring with them.² Later immigrants, especially to the Solomons and Bismarcks, brought an actual totem-cult, and between the two there is now a distinct belief in many parts of the Pacific that a portion of the soul of a certain family resides in a certain living creature, which creature is obviously not to be killed or eaten by members of that family. This same principle was undoubtedly the origin of the animal crests borne by

¹ The lower class natives of South America on first seeing the early Spanish cavaliers considered the horse and man as part of each other, a strange combined monster (in the same way, no doubt, arose the very ancient European myth of Centaurs), and having once adopted the belief, for a long time could not quite give up the idea, even when they saw the man-half separated, temporarily, from the horse-half.

² *History of Melanesian Society*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

many people in civilized countries, though few realize the true meaning of them.¹

So, then, we have some families whose ancestor was, and totem is, a snake; others, a certain kind of fish; and others a man. And for this reason, rather than for humane or refined motives, did some tribes in Fiji, notably the Nakelo people, always refuse to eat man. Some tribes, no doubt, were conquered serfs and had the duty of providing and bringing in the dish of "man" to their masters, which duty might therefore "tabu" them from partaking of the food; but this cannot be the real reason, as, on the one hand, the Tui Thakau family, the senior chiefs of Thakaundrové, never touched man; while on the other hand the Lasakau people, whose special duty it was to bring in the man-meat to their Bau over-lords, were themselves cannibal; so the Totem explanation must be the correct one.

In the Melanesian secret societies there is always an underlying idea of Death—sometimes the very name, such as Ta-maté, signifies it—and it is thought that one of the main reasons for their existence was to enable the initiate, by passing through the portals of death, to project some of his own soul to the family totem, and to receive in exchange some of the soul of the same totem. In the "Duk-duk" society of New Britain the initiate is "killed" by a blow of a stick—often a very real blow, too—and though in the Nanga of Fiji the initiate is not "killed," yet he

¹ It has been suggested that the man, lion, ox, and eagle of the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, were relics of a totem idea.



(1)

(1) NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN TOTEM POLE.

(Photo by permission of the Canadian Pacific Railway Co.)



(2)

(2) CARVING, PROBABLY TOTEM, FROM NEW ZEALAND.

(Fig. 119, Ethnographical Handbook, British Museum.)

To face p. 210.

is brought into intimate contact with "dead" men and smeared with their "blood." Doctor Rivers points out that the Ta-maté societies had no totems in the accepted sense of the term, as the members were permitted to eat the family animals; but, after all, the abstention from eating is not so much the main idea, as actual possession of a family animal. Uncivilized peoples often ate the thing they revered most, out of affection. This, in fact, was a cause of cannibalism in certain parts of the world, but not so much in the Pacific, where the two chief causes were, as I have said in the previous chapter, *magic* to prevent the ghost of a slain enemy harming one, and *religion* as an act of sacrifice.

Now the various totems are so numerous that it would be almost impossible to classify them here, though I believe that a thorough and minute investigation would repay the trouble taken, in view of the aid it would give in the tracing of different migrations among the islands. The "Kalou Vu" or ancestral gods of the tribes in Fiji are founded on the same principle, and the tracing of these has already been of some help in the work of the Commission enquiring into the ownership of lands in the Colony. So, also, in a wider sense, the finding of bird and fish devices on the pyramids of Tahiti as well as in the Solomon Islands may be one more link in the chain of evidence that connects the older inhabitants of the Eastern Pacific with the West. Almost every creature, and even trees and inanimate objects, too, have been adopted, but the one creature whose absence always puzzled me was the pig, the animal so important to

all religions and other functions in the Pacific. I remember once talking to Doctor Rivers about this, and we could neither of us at the time fit in an adequate reason. It has only lately occurred to me that the explanation probably is that the immigrants who brought the pig into the Pacific also brought with them the ancestral hatred for it. It was purely a sacrificial animal, and only in later times, or during the long voyage, did sheer necessity start the practice of eating it.

Even in the Solomon Islands the totem idea is less a tribal matter than a personal or small family concern, and in this it differs from the cult as found among the North-American Indians, where whole tribes have one totem in common, such as the deer, the eagle, or the beaver (though individuals may also have a personal totem). In the Solomons a head of a family, dying, will tell his sons for the first time which animal or fish he is—and he really believes it—and henceforward that creature may not be eaten by his family.¹

There was a man in one of the Solomon Group who regularly swam out to a man-eating shark who haunted the locality, and calling it up to him, gave it food. It was his "ancestor," and would not harm him! In the same way there is still, I believe, at Taveuni Island, Fiji, a turtle that will come and be fed in response to the calls of a certain family; and natives in the Tholo mountains go to a cave to feed an eel that comes in response to the singing of a few lines of a song. Mrs. G. Wright of Suva gave me the verse

¹ *The Melanesians*, by Codrington.

that the people still use, but I have unfortunately mislaid it.

This belief in the transmigration of souls while the body is still living precedes the belief in the future existence of the soul after the body is dead ; in fact the latter was probably built up on the foundation of the former. If the immigrants to the Pacific who brought with them the ceremonial kava-drinking were the ones who brought the re-incarnation theory (which in Melanesia became converted into a totem-cult)¹ it must have been these same people, after passing on to the rest of the Pacific—to " Polynesia "—who gradually built up from their re-incarnation idea the belief in the future life, always tinged with the shadowy faith of a " return to the land whence they came." They were the " Sky-people," their fathers had come from the far horizon, they were descendants of the Sun. And where the Sun went each night to rest, so, also, after death, would their souls travel to the West.

As for the ceremonial kava-drinking, it is now such an outstanding feature of South Sea Island life, or perhaps rather of Polynesia, that it has become commonplace, and few realize the inner meaning of it. Yet its prevalence in most parts, in marked contrast to its absence in others, has made it of immense value as a sort of test, a criterion by which we may say, " Here live a certain people who have always followed this practice, while there live another people

¹ The Melanesian influence in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa Group, especially the latter, accounts for the existence of totems in those islands.

who know it not." It is only on the boundary line—and what an important boundary it is!—that any difficulty arises, and we have to decide whether the half-hearted kava-drinking there found is merely adopted from neighbours; or is a vestige of an ancient practice now almost forgotten; or is even the original practice itself, which in other places has developed into a fuller growth. And to this investigation the Rivers Expedition to Melanesia in 1908 paid special attention.

It is perhaps unnecessary here to state that Kava, Hava, or Ava, is the dried root of a species of pepper; and that it is macerated in water, strained, and the resulting liquor partaken of. It is not fermented, and in the diluted form, as used in Polynesia, it is innocuous, giving merely a sharp, refreshing sensation in the mouth; but it is distinctly an acquired taste. Taken in excess it exerts a temporary paralyzing effect on the limbs, and chronic toppers are apt to become lethargic and dull.

But all this is the modern use of kava as a beverage. It is with the original method of taking it as a religious rite or ceremony, that we are here more directly concerned. And from the mass of ceremonial that even now in Polynesia hedges it in, and from a knowledge of how it is used in parts of Melanesia to this day, we are able to pick out sufficient data to enable us to form some idea of its early use by the immigrants who first introduced it to the Pacific.

In the first place it is important to note that the universal method of maceration of the root was always to *chew* it, the chewed pulp being placed in a wooden

bowl and then mixed with water to form the drink. It is only of recent years that the condemnation by the whites of this method has in many places caused the substitution of pounding or grating. Young people with clean sound teeth were always selected for the chewing, and they had to rinse their mouths out first. The idea may seem obnoxious, but, given perfect health on the part of the chewer, it is really a matter of sentiment. In my early years in Fiji, up in the Tholo Mountains, I have at official ceremonies occasionally had to take a cup of kava made in this way, but I confess I did not like it! Even then the chewing method was disappearing, and now it has been stopped by law, since the advent of tuberculosis among the natives has introduced a distinct risk.

Now why should the kava ever have been chewed at all, when pounding or grating is just as easy? Doctor Rivers considers that the explanation may be that the immigrants chewed betel in their previous homes in Indonesia; and, not finding betel in most islands in the Pacific, got hold of another leaf (and finally its root) as a substitute. This is probably correct; but it must be remembered that the kava chewing was, as will be presently shown, an ancient religious rite, and betel never really seems to have had religious ideas attached to it. Is it therefore possible to trace the practice farther back still? As another writer points out,¹ there is a religious drink partaken of in the mythology of a very ancient land—India. This drink, “Soma,” occurs frequently in the old tales of the gods of the northern parts, along

¹ *Who are the Maoris?* by A. K. Newman.

the valley of the Ganges, where no doubt one portion of the Polynesian race passed through, but it is difficult to ascertain what it was or what was the method of its preparation. But farther back still, in the dim past of the Mediterranean peoples, we have the legends of the Saturnalia, of the Bacchanals and how they chewed the sacred ivy leaf to send them into a religious frenzy, and of the prophetess of the Sun-god, Apollo, who used the chewed laurel to get inspiration and the divine commands. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the people who chewed kava to get into close relation with the gods (the same frenzy was still produced in the Polynesian priests) may have had vague memories of the olden days when their ancestors in the northern hemisphere used the northern plants, the sacred Ivy and the Laurel, for the same mystic purpose; or even that the old Soma myths of India were founded on traditions born from these same earlier people.

That kava *was* distinctly a sacred herb is shown in many ways. In some of those remote islands which, although geographically in "Melanesia" are actually Polynesian, a piece of kava must be held in the hand when about to address a god (through a priest), or a chief, who is, of course, god-descended. The same custom formerly held in Fiji. This is not for presentation, but evidently as a safeguard for the holder, something to counteract the "tabu"—a sort of "touch wood," in fact!

It is, like most other things of a religious nature, used only by men and not women, and in the Banks Islands even the touching of it by women is a sacrilege.

There is obviously a strong "tabu" surrounding it, but—except to women—there is no actual "tabu" on the kava itself. The articles connected with it—the cups, the strainer, the bowl (especially the latter) are all "tabu"—but the use of it for religious purposes was never "tabu." Even at the funeral rites at the death of the sacred Tui Tonga, when nearly everything of ordinary routine was forbidden, there was never a "tabu" on kava, and kava is the only thing that is not "tabu-ed" by the dread touch of a chief. This inherent force in it may account for its being able to counteract another "tabu," as mentioned above.

In the Banks Islands a libation of it was poured out to the gods, and only the higher ranks in the Ta-maté secret society might drink it. After swallowing it any drops left hanging about the mouth are blown out and some small petition to the gods is made. To this day in Fiji you can hear one say, "Oh, for a fair wind," "For a good yam crop," etc. At Pentecost Island "... a rich man, after drinking it, will take sugar-cane in his mouth, and after spitting this out will utter a long drawn-out cry, which is a sign to every one that he is a rich man. . . ." (Rivers).

In Fiji in former times, when purely a religious affair, it was made as a concentrated solution in a small shallow cup or bowl (there is one in the British Museum marked "a priest's kava-bowl, Fiji"), and it then had much more powerful effects. The myths of Mangaia Island (Cook Group) have it that Miru, the dread goddess who presides over the lower regions, stupefies her victims with strong kava before sending them to their doom. In the New Hebrides it is still

made as a very strong solution, and by two men sitting facing each other, each with a cup. They pour it from one to another, making it froth, and it is then taken with all due solemnity. At Tanna Island it is drunk only after prayers to the gods; at Vanikolo it forms an important part of the annual religious ceremonies connected with "the sacred Heads, the Moon, and the Mountain" (see *ante*); in fact throughout the Pacific it was evidently an ancient sacred rite. We have an interesting account in Cook's *Voyages* of how "Ava" was solemnly chewed and partaken of on the pyramid at Hawaii at the ceremony of Captain Cook's identification with the god Lono; while the presentation of kava to the Ancestor-gods was a very necessary antecedent to the final outbreak of cannibalism in Fiji, not so very long ago.

With such a strong religious force pervading all connected with it, it is no wonder that the utensils employed in the making of kava should have been very "tabu." It would seem almost as if this kava, being, as it were, part of the *essence* of the gods, could impart a "tabu" to all things it touched (though since it was necessary for man to incorporate within himself some of this essence, the fluid itself would not be "tabu"). Therefore the bowl was "tabu," and—just like the sacred chiefs themselves—ought not to touch the ground, lest (using a modern electrical simile) a dangerous "contact" might occur. For this reason, probably, rather than for actual stability—which could easily have been brought about by merely flattening the bottom of the bowl—did they always have wooden legs put to them. In some islands

they were placed on insulating rings of stones, while the hollow on the top of the great trilithon at Tonga may have been merely for an exceptionally sacred kava bowl. At Gaua, in the New Hebrides, where there are many other traces of the "kava-people," are great stone boulders, hollowed out as bowls. Exactly the same idea was, and maybe still is, believed in at home, in Scotland, where "... the vessel in which the healing water from the sacred well was carried was not allowed to touch the ground."¹

So, also, the coco-nut shell cups which conveyed the kava from the bowl to the drinker had in olden times an insulating handle of sinnet, more for this reason, I think, than because they were "chief's cups." There is now in the Cheltenham College Museum a good specimen of one of these cups presented to me by an old chief in Fiji.

It will have been noticed how this Ava or Kava ceremony has been associated (even in Melanesia where chieftdom is not really now recognized or remembered) solely with "chiefs." In Fiji the only one who might wear a Sun-turban at such a sacred ceremony was the Roko-Tui. These "descendants of the Sun" looked upon the performance as a most solemn religious rite, connected with the god. The kava had to be chewed, and not prepared in any other way; while a strict "tabu"—that ancient custom of the Sun-people—surrounded the whole affair.

Finally, its very name, "Ava", was, as I shall show in a later chapter, very possibly derived from the ancient Ava, the original home of the builders of the

¹ *The Hebrides*, by Gordon Cumming, 1883.

great Sun-temples. There was something very peculiar about this name. It is thought that it was not really a definite name of a city or place, such as we know place-names to-day, but rather had a more indefinite meaning, such as merely "the sacred city," or "the temple." In fact the same rule probably governed it as that governing the names of chiefs in the Pacific even to-day, i.e. that it is dangerous to mention one's name, as this amounts to a setting free of *a part of oneself*, a prey for any malignant spirit in the neighbourhood to snatch up and bear away for ever. It was just this idea in Egypt that caused the people always to have two names, the real name which was never spoken, and the false name which could be mentioned freely and on all occasions. This custom was also prevalent in ancient Greece (the Eleusinian priests), and in the west as far away as Madagascar. I think the English equivalent may be the bad luck of "breaking a mirror," the origin of which, no doubt, was the idea that part of one's soul—the reflection—was thereby injured. So strong was this belief about names in the Pacific that in olden times the chiefs' names were not given in the kava circles, but on each man's turn being called out some other name such as (in Fiji) "Ko koya mai Viria," "he from Viria"—understood by all—was given instead.

For the same reason a big chief, on succeeding to the chieftdom, was always the cause of certain changes in the language, especially if he happened to have a name that was the same as some article in common use; for the nation at once had to coin some new word to describe this article, rather than risk the

chief's welfare by a promiscuous use of his name. Thus the old name for Pape-eté (the principal town of Tahiti) was Vai-eté, literally "vessel of water"; but since Vai happened to be the name of a reigning chief, the word Papé had to be substituted. It was bad enough to have one's name uttered by someone else, but far worse to have to say it oneself, to have to give up part of one's own entity with one's own living breath. For this reason I have sometimes found Fijians very averse to giving their names—occasionally even as witnesses in Court; and they would turn in a helpless sort of fashion to someone near by, who would say it for them. It was at the greatest moment in a Fijian's career, when he received the honour of knighthood—for such it really was—that a new name was given to him, and given in a rather remarkable manner.

When a Fijian had proved his manhood and valour by slaying an enemy in battle he was, on his return, installed with much ceremony in the rank of "Koroi." As the canoe drew up to the beach before the assembled people his spear was exhibited with a fluttering pennon of "tappa" attached, and immediately on landing he was conducted to the temple, where a reed was placed to represent him. He was then anointed with oil and turmeric, and had to undergo a fasting vigil for three days, not being allowed to lie down the whole time, nor might his feet touch the sea. The older men had exchanged weapons with him, and had even re-exchanged them with others, there being a belief that some of the special quality in them gained by killing a man might pass on to the new owners.

(The same thing was noticed by onlookers at Captain Cook's death, when the dagger that killed him was rapidly snatched from hand to hand by the natives as a source of immense power.) On the third day was the consecration ceremony, when, amid solemn silence, the priest came out and gave forth the new name to the waiting multitude. On the last day was the drinking of the sacred water at the temple, all the people now remaining in their houses behind closed doors. This is altogether one of the most curious ceremonies of the Pacific, and is obviously of very great age, and not now easily explainable. To me the most inexplicable thing of all is why the candidate for knighthood should not have been allowed to lie down during his three days' fast. Was it to prove his fortitude, or was it that he had to keep always in the humble crouching position, being in the presence of the gods? This crouching in the presence of the gods (or of the god-descended chiefs) is essential through Polynesia, and back to the islands of Indonesia, to Siam, ancient Japan, and India. It is still customary in Fiji for the commoners to stop, lower bundles from their shoulders, and crouch down by the roadside when a chief passes, that they might not by any chance be elevated above his head; and the Lau people accorded me the same privilege by always dismounting from their ponies when passing me, or even my house.

Many amusing consequences follow the restriction against the (literal) elevation of a commoner above a chief. The Rajah of Lombok in the Celebes, ordered out a new carriage from England, but when it arrived

it was discovered that the coachman would have to sit on a box seat above the Rajah. The difficulty could not be adjusted and the carriage was never used. A King of Tonga was more ingenious, however, for when he discovered that the first native missionary would be preaching from a pulpit higher than the head of the king, he quickly ordered a similar pulpit, *but somewhat higher*, to be made for himself, which satisfied all parties, except perhaps the missionary! When the Hawaiians were first conducted over Captain Cook's ship the thing that surprised them more than all the guns and strange foreign things was the fact that a deck should be over Captain Cook's cabin, and that the men should be allowed to walk on it.

All these customs seem at first sight strange, and perhaps foolish, but there is a reason, often extending back to the mists of antiquity, for them all. During the last few chapters I have endeavoured to show the meaning of some of them, and how, in a people shut off from the rest of the world as the natives of the Pacific have been, the customs brought with them from the land of their origin have been retained and crystallized in a form still recognizable, and nearly as valuable to the investigator as the tangible stone remains which I propose to describe in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XIV

STONE REMAINS

THROUGHOUT the length and breadth of our own country, from John o' Groat's to Land's End, and from Kent to the West of Ireland, we come across at unexpected places great stones so regularly placed in relation to each other that the hand of man is obviously evident in their erection. Apart from single standing stones (menhirs) the commonest combination was one flattened stone resting upon two or three others, usually called a "dolmen." For a long time they were regarded with awe as "fairy" stones, something supernatural. Their use and meaning had been lost; the very people who had placed them there had been forgotten; but vague folk-tales still clung to them, traditions which in the course of centuries had turned to myths.

And when, in the eighteenth century, a few learned men began to speculate about such things, they were thought to be altars ("Druid's altars" was the favourite expression), and it was gravely explained that sacrifices were formerly made on the top of them. Then someone noticed that it was usually the *under* surface of the table-stone that was flat and smooth, the upper being left convex and in the rough state.

This tended to upset the altar theory, and strengthened a growing idea that they were sepulchres, with the inner surface smoothed for the better appearance of the vault within. As human remains were found in many of them this theory is probably correct, as far as it goes. In fact, both theories, together with a third about to be mentioned, may be correct as regards different epochs of time, and successive waves of culture.

But there were others of them still to be accounted for, the rough stones irregularly dropped in a slanting fashion on the top of others, and one end often higher than the other. So purposeless did they seem that the theory that they had accidentally been left like this by the washing away of the earth beneath them was generally accepted, until it was noticed that there was apparently a certain method in their relation to some adjacent menhir, or to their orientation with regard to the sun.

Of late years this sun theory has been satisfactorily worked out, and the stone groups have been taken seriatim by careful observers¹ and proved to show a relation to the great time periods of primitive man, that is, the solstices and equinoxes. I said "primitive" man, but there seems little doubt that the people who set up these carefully arranged "time clocks" over two thousand years ago had no mean knowledge of astronomy and the movements of the heavenly bodies; a knowledge very important to them as agriculturists and followers of proper planting seasons.

¹ Dr. A. M. McAldowie, F.R.S. Edin., among others has published interesting brochures on prehistoric time measurement.

But apart from the indefinite myths surrounding these stones we have an interesting corroboration regarding their use as Sun monuments in their very names themselves, names associated with the ancient Sun-god Baal, and still in use by the country folk in the neighbourhood. Such designations as Belas Knap or Baal's Knap (Gloucestershire); the Bawd Stones, for Balder-stone or Baal's stone (Staffordshire); the Friar's Heel, for Freas Heol or Ascending Sun (Stonehenge) sufficiently indicate the original connection.

When, at a special time of the year, such as at the solstice, the rays of the rising sun passed underneath the table-stone (probably smoothed for this reason) and struck the neighbouring pillar, it was known that the critical moment had arrived, and no doubt a sacrifice was simultaneously made, an offering to the god.

These stones, associated with an ancient Semitic people who lived in Britain, or with a people in Britain who derived their knowledge and customs from the Semites, were similar stones to the ones which in later times came to be deified by the Sabæans as phallic emblems, though with them also the original use was for sun-measurement. *And the same menhirs and table-stones* are found right along the route, through Indonesia and into the Pacific. When the sun-origin of them came to be forgotten the table-stones often ceased to be raised from the ground, and one can hardly doubt that the "dissoliths"—consisting of an upright menhir standing by a horizontal slab-stone, described by W. J. Perry in his book *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*—were phallic emblems, used as

such by a degenerate people whose ancestors had put up somewhat similar stones for a study of the sun's movements; though the raised table-stones—dolmens—are, as in the Pacific, also occasionally found.

As one may imagine, burial-places are often discovered in close proximity to these sun-stones—sometimes the dead were actually buried inside the dolmen—for the Ancestor-cult was undoubtedly closely associated with the Sun-cult: and because of these two circumstances temples would in time come to be built round the central stones, where also the sacrifices were conducted. Such, no doubt, was the origin of places like Stonehenge, where the Sun-cult had advanced to a highly organized state, probably improved upon by alien successors of the original, and more primitive, worshippers.

In the Pacific one can only hazard a guess as to the chronological sequence of events, but it seems probable that the pyramidal ancestor-tomb preceded the walled-in (but roofless) temple and that the dolmen came between them; though during the transition periods no doubt a combination of any two of these would be likely to occur. The walls of the open temples were unmortared, the stones being merely fitted in together, and though they were often immense structures and cleverly built, capable of withstanding any ordinary phenomena of nature and the preying hand of time, they could easily be dismantled when man required their stones for other purposes. The result is that when the worship for which they were built came to an end they were quickly pulled down, and but few now remain in the complete state to show

what they were once like. A little sidelight on how the destruction of many of the antiquities of the Pacific came about is shown in an old missionary book I picked up not long ago, wherein is stated: ". . . upwards of fifty persons were employed in carrying stones from an old Heiau, which they were pulling down, to raise the ground and lay the foundation of the place of worship (a chapel). It was a pleasant sight to view the ruins of an idol's temple (*sic*) devoted to such a purpose! . . ."

The pyramids of the Pacific, being usually mere mounds of earth faced with stones, were also easily destroyed, the stones being used for other purposes; and of many known ones that were complete when Captain Cook described them hardly a vestige now remains. But the dolmens, being great stones useless for ordinary purposes, have in many cases been left untouched, in some instances the religious beliefs of the inhabitants, though altered out of all recognition, still protects them, and they remain as they were when their Asiatic builders of many centuries ago first placed them there. And the interested enquirer may see them and compare them with the similar structures erected by a similar people in our own islands at the dawn of history. The late Mr. Sterndale described one that he came across up-country in Upolu, Samoa. I give his own description of it, but would call particular attention to the "cairns in rows," the stone pavement, and the association of the conch-shell, sacred to the Polynesian immigrants to the Pacific: ". . . Here were a great number of 'cairns' of stones, apparently graves, disposed in rows among huge trees,

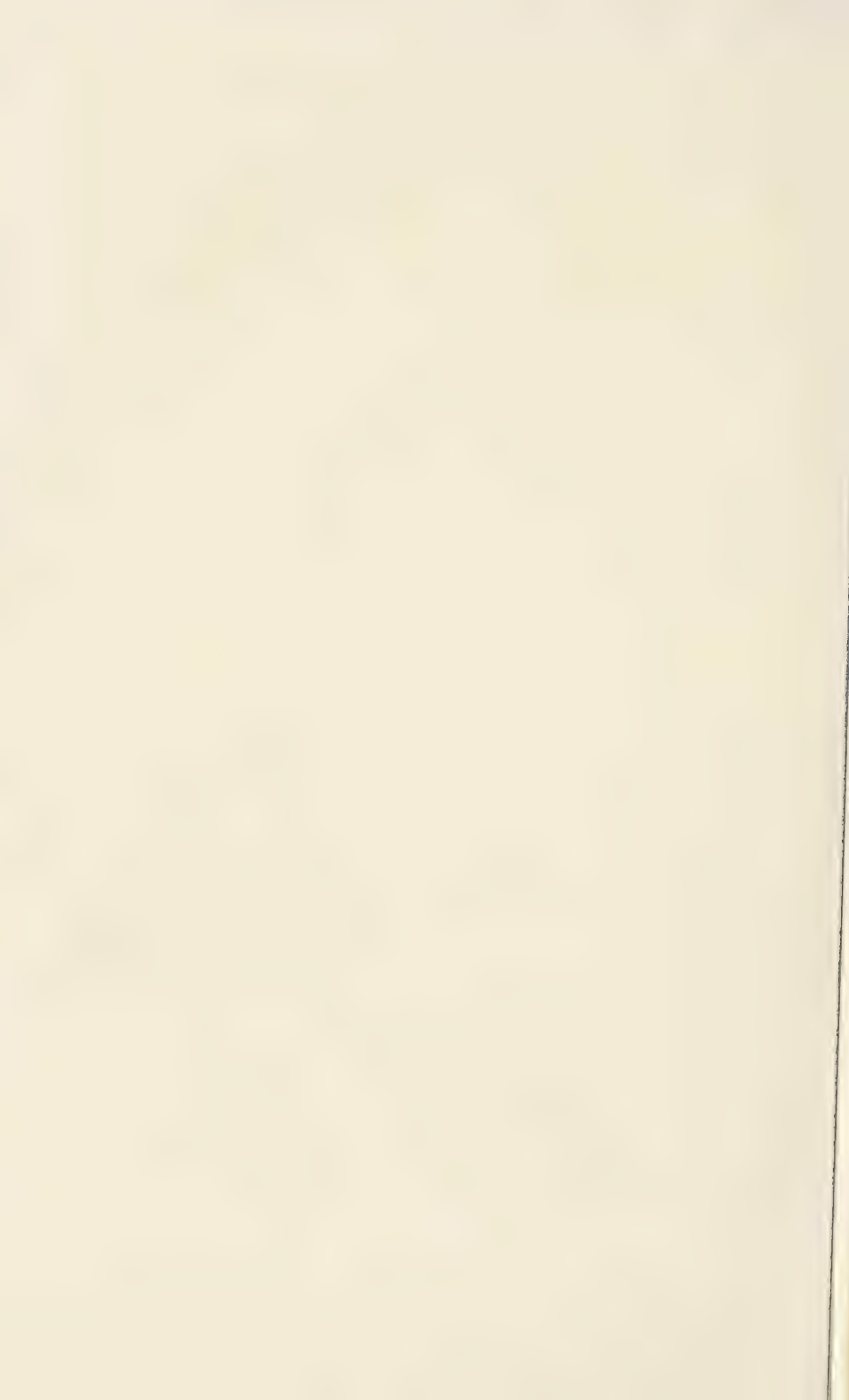


DOLMEN IN CORNWALL.



DOLMEN IN THE NEW HEBRIDES.

To face p. 228.



the uplifting roots of which had overturned and destroyed very many of them. There was one great banyan tree which I approached, and, perceiving a cavity, entered. . . . The floor was of flat stones, the walls of enormous blocks of the same placed on end, the roof of intertwisted trunks of the banyan, which had grown together into a solid arch. In the centre was a cairn, or rather a cromlech,¹ about four feet high, formed of several stones arranged in a triangle with a great slab on the top. Upon it was what appeared to be another small stone, but which on examination turned out to be a great conch-shell, white with age, and encrusted with moss and dead animalculæ. . . ."

I am inclined to think that the "cairns in rows" were comparable to the stone alignments at Carnac, Amesbury, etc., and to the "streets of small pyramids" near the two large ones that stand twenty-four miles from the capital in Mexico. The "huge trees" were, of course, things of modern growth in that tropical climate.

In Huahine Island (Society Group) there is a typical dolmen, standing in the centre of a "marae" (these "marae" of the Society Islands properly consisted of a walled-in, stone-paved area, with a pyramid at one side of it; but the term has by many writers been loosely applied to any building of a sacred nature in those islands). In other groups of Polynesia these dolmens will no doubt be discovered in time, but it

¹ This description was written in the early 'eighties, and dolmens were then often erroneously described as "cromlechs," but the context makes it plain that a dolmen or table-stone was intended.

is in the New Hebrides that, owing to the investigations of Dr. Speisser, they have so far been found in greater numbers than anywhere else ; and generally, curiously enough, in association with the dancing grounds. At Vao there are no less than five of these dancing grounds, plentifully strewn with menhirs, slabs, dolmens, etc., *and with tall, upright, wooden gongs or drums* ; at the south side of Malekula Island are others ; at Santo is the dolmen on which the priest, dancing, receives and kills the sacrificial pigs (described in Chapter XI). At Gaua Dr. Speisser speaks of " pedestals " for pig sacrifices, and at Malo of " altars," both of these terms I have no doubt being intended for dolmens. I have mentioned how these stone remains are associated with the dancing grounds. Stevenson, describing the ruins of a sacred paved temple in the Marquesas, wrote : " . . . in the old days . . . no dead leaf was suffered to rot upon the pavement. The stones were smoothly set, and I am told that they were kept bright with oil. . . . There were places for the chiefs, the drummers, the dancers, the women, and the priests. The drums, perhaps twenty strong, and some of them twelve feet high, continuously throbbed in time. . . . "

In Sterndale's description of the Samoan dolmen it will have been noticed that it was placed in the centre of a stone pavement, and the one at Huahine Island is similarly situated. These pavements were used for religious dances, which formed part of the sacred ceremonies and which were no doubt forerunners of most of the South Sea posture dances which exist to this day. I have already called attention to the association of pig sacrifices with the dolmens. One

may therefore picture a people of Semitic ancestry, cousins perhaps of the early inhabitants of Britain, who worshipped the Sun, probably used the dolmens for sun observations, sacrificed animals—possibly also men—to the Sun, and performed religious dances during the ceremony. *And these people extended right across the Pacific.*

At the beginning of this book I suggested how the pyramid might have come into existence, and how, from being the tomb of a dead ancestor, it became an altar for a sacrifice to the living Sun. In the Pacific we usually find them in the transition stage, and they were made as follows. First of all a rectangular wall about four feet high, of flat stone slabs, placed on their sides, is set up around a tomb. The space inside is filled in with earth or other stones up to the level of this wall, and then another similar wall, but of narrower compass, is set up on this flat mound. This in turn is filled in, and another smaller wall built on top, until, by gradual steps or terraces, each smaller than the one below, the structure begins to resemble a pyramid. In some islands, as in Tahiti, the complete pyramid shape is attained (see illustration facing page 34); in others, as in the Lau Group, only the bottom layer, or perhaps two layers, were built. In Tonga we sometimes have the half-way stage, the grave of Fatafehi being a huge structure 156 feet by 140 feet at the base, with four terraces to the top. These Tongan terraced graves, by the way, were called “langi” (lit. the Sky), an evident connection with the “Sky-people” who trace their descent from the Sun.

The pyramid became the “high place” (sternly

condemned in the Bible) at which to worship the original parent of the ancestors, the Sun. In Mexico it attained its most complete state as a place of worship,¹ and it was also the older form of temple in Hawaii, holding chief place until the walled-in enclosures were introduced from "the south" about the twelfth century. We know that in Tahiti the "marae," or sacred place, was a pavement at the foot of the pyramid, surrounded by a low wall. Originally, no doubt, even in Tahiti the only sacred place was the pyramid itself, the tomb of the ancestor, the walled-in pavements being added later, and probably lesser chiefs being buried under them. And it was just the same in Hawaii. The pyramid was the principal structure until the walled-in enclosures were introduced, and then gradually the pyramid lost its significance, while the enclosure was improved until it became a specialized form of temple, though always without a roof, as was only natural when one remembers that the whole spirit of the worship was the veneration of the heavenly bodies. Although in Hawaii the pyramid may have lost its original significance as the grave of the first ancestor, now forgotten, yet the custom of laying the offering on the grave still remained (as, indeed, it does with us when we lay on a grave a wreath or a bunch of flowers).

The Heiau or temple, called Kanaikahaora, at Hawaii, is described as having "inside the enclosure an altar, which was a mound paved with smooth stones, upon which the offerings were laid."

¹ The great pyramid at Boraboda in western Java was, I understand, rather the tomb of a dead king than a Sun-temple.

A description of one of the smaller pyramids at Tahiti will explain how the "pavements" came into existence. ". . . There stood a pyramid fourteen feet high, and on each side of it a pebble-paved area over the graves of chiefs (which, after all, is how the dead used to be buried beneath the floor of our own old churches); and there was another pavement close by, nearer the sea, and sacrifices were made on it, the bodies being afterwards buried beneath it. . . ."

These stone pavements in time came to be very important, especially as all the ceremonies, religious or otherwise, were conducted on them. Some in the Marquesas were as much as two hundred yards long, the immense flat blocks forming them being perfectly smooth and particularly suitable for the religious dances. At Tahiti the archery contests took place on them (the bow was a sacred implement of Polynesia and no longer used for fighting, being a relic of the earlier times when the Polynesian immigrants had introduced them as a weapon to the Pacific). These contests were surrounded with a particular "tabu," special clothes had to be worn for them, and at the finish the competitors had to bathe to remove the "tabu." It was on these pavements, too, that the solemn councils of the chiefs were held, each person having his appointed throne or seat, which was sacred to himself or his descendants. I quote from two well-known modern Tahitian antiquarians (Tati Salmon and Miss Henry): ". . . Some members disappeared and their seats in the family 'temple' remained unclaimed. . . ." ". . . the 'marae' at Opoa was famous all over the Pacific as the meeting place of

all branches. On the right of it were eight ancient stone slabs recording eight successive kings of Opoa." Stevenson also especially remarked the chief's seats in the " marae " at the Marquesas. He says : " . . . The public ' high place,' such as I was now treading, was a thing on a great scale. As far as my eye could pierce through the dark undergrowth the floor of the forest was all paved. Three tiers of terrace ran on the slope of the hill ; in front, a crumbling parapet contained the main arena ; and the pavement of that was pierced and parcelled out with several wells and stone enclosures. No trace of any superstructure remained, and the scheme of the amphitheatre was difficult to seize. I visited another in Hiva-*oa*, smaller but more perfect, where it was easy to follow the rows of benches, and to distinguish the isolated seats of honour for eminent persons. . . . "

And, as might be expected, these ancient pavements were affectionately cherished by those who had a right to a seat upon them. There is a long folk-tale about a giant named Hono-*ura* who made an unwilling journey from Tahiti to Hiva. As he leaves the shores he bids adieu to well-remembered places and mournfully cries out, " Farewell to my pavement, and farewell to my ' leaning-stone ' (his throne). "

In some islands these great morticed and fitted stone pavements ran down to the sea. Such have been described in the Marquesas, the Carolines, Society Islands (Huahine), and Fiji (Ringolds). It is possible, of course, that these cyclopean causeways were for shipping purposes, but one is tempted to think that they may have had some religious significance in con-

nection with the sea-gods, such as we know exists even to this day in Fiji. A year or two ago I had occasion to hold an enquiry at Lomaloma (the Lau Islands) into some illegal "magic" that was being carried on, and during the investigations it transpired that a number of men had been building a temporary causeway at the back of the island for the "Luveni-wai" (the gods of the sea) to come up to a place prepared for them on shore!

Finally, there are the very interesting sloping stone pavements at Easter Island described by the Routledge expedition. At the crest of the slope were set the famous stone images, watching over the dead who were, just as in Tahiti, buried beneath the pavement. These images were probably conventionalized representations of the dead themselves, and may have been considered to be, at times, abodes of the dead: simulacra into which the ghosts could enter.¹

And the mention of ghosts reminds me that once more I have been digressing shamefully, from pyramids to pavements, and from pavements to images. With reference to the pyramids I was about to say that on the top of the pyramid-tomb was usually built a little house for the ghost of the deceased to dwell in, and various articles were placed there for his use. In just the same way to-day in the Lau Islands,

¹ On somewhat the same principle as the U-shab-ti, or little images placed with the mummies in the tombs in Egypt. And in connection with this I discovered an interesting little sentence in Ellis' *Hawaii*, written before 1826, in which he says: "Mrs. Alexander produced a parcel of little images of gods, of wood, which had been taken out of one of the tombs in Hawaii. . . ." (!)

especially in the more isolated ones, you can see a one, or two, terraced grave (the rudimentary pyramid) and on the top of it a little roofed shelter, with often some favourite article that the dead man or woman once used (in these prosaic days such things as china tea-cups or glass oil-bottles—I have even seen a sewing-machine—while a rather pathetic sight occasionally to be noticed is the toy boat of a child).

And since the dead (the “ancestors”) and the gods were so closely intermingled in the minds of the people of the early cults, it was only logical that a more or less temporary house should also be placed on the pyramids of the gods, or at all events on the more primitive ones. It was probably at this stage that the types of pyramid-construction diverged, some glorifying the house, which became in time the temple of the god, as in the Buddhist structures (and, in a minor degree, the Fijian “god-house, or temple, on the top of the high “Yavu” or pyramidal mound); others concentrating on the pyramid, to the detriment and disappearance of the house, as in the Egyptian and Mexican pyramids.

This was the probable explanation of the “old wooden building” described as being on the top of the Hawaiian pyramid where Captain Cook was formally recognized as the god Lono. And just as in Easter Island the image brooding over the tomb probably represented the person buried there, whose ghost could at will inhabit this same image, so also the “idols” in these temples were probably representations of the god, who could enter them when he willed. Captain King, who accompanied Captain Cook,

very clearly described the pyramid and the ceremony that took place on it. It was a truncated pyramid of an ancient type, 120 feet by 60 feet at the base, and 42 feet high. Its top was flat and paved, and there was a wooden rail round it on which were exposed the skulls of the sacrifices (presumably both pigs and men). In the centre was an old wooden building connected by a stone wall on each side to the wooden rail, and at the entrance to this building were two large wooden images with long "inverted cones" on the top of their heads (not unlike, one would imagine, the hats of modern Jewish priests, but of larger proportions). Their bodies were wrapped in red cloth. Cook was met by "a young man with a long beard" who introduced him to the images. He was then led to some wooden scaffolding at one end, at the foot of which were twelve images in a semi-circle, and before the middle one an altar on which lay a putrid pig. This was presented to him and a speech made, after which it was thrown on to the ground. (All offerings, even of money on to the table of modern missionary meetings are "thrown" down. It is the correct way, the old-world custom of casting gifts at one's feet, I suppose.) It was then intimated to Cook that he should accompany the priest on to the scaffolding, where he was wrapped in red cloth, and after certain prayers they descended, and Cook was instructed to prostrate himself before the central image. They then moved back to the other half of the platform, where there was a "well" some three feet deep and twelve feet square. In this Cook was seated, and his arms supported upwards. More offer-

ings were then brought to him, and kava was chewed to the accompaniment of long chants. After partaking of the kava the ceremony ended. It will be noticed that these "wells" occur also at the sacred pavements in the Marquesas and elsewhere, but I must confess that I am at a loss to find their exact significance.

The truncated pyramid as described above has been found, though generally in a more primitive condition, in various parts of the Pacific. Mr. Sterndale, when he discovered at Samoa the dolmen and pavement mentioned earlier in this chapter, also found, close by, a truncated pyramid which he described as being made of great blocks of lava—some of which must have weighed over a ton—laid in courses. This structure apparently had the corners rounded, and approximated more to a cone. It was 100 feet in each diameter at the base, and 20 feet high. At Tinian (Marianne Islands) where Admiral Lord Anson found many stone remains, there were at one place two parallel lines of small pyramids, ranging up to 13 feet in height, a formation extraordinarily like the lines of small pyramids in Mexico, and suggestive, also, of the parallel lines of stone cairns that bordered the causeways made for the Fijian "Luveniwei" to come up from the sea.

A transition type of pyramid may be those described at Easter Island, a variety of the "Ahu", which were of a semi-pyramid shape (Mrs. Routledge); while a somewhat similar structure has been seen at Tonga, ". . . a pile of stones 90 feet long, lozenge-shape, and 25 feet high at the centre."

A typical association of the "pyramid" with its adjacent "pavement" was to be found at Tahiti. In Hawaii the enclosing wall of the pavement grew higher, and the pyramid dwindled to a mere altar, though before the change, mentioned previously, that took place about the twelfth century, all the sacred places had been, like those of Tahiti, principally pyramids. Such was the old one to Lono that Cook was deified at on his first arrival in Hawaii; and such also was the other one at which he was sacrificed after being killed by the excited yet awe-struck natives. This latter one was a 100 feet long by 15 feet high. The actual cremation took place "on a hearth raised 18 inches above the ground, circled by a curb of rude stones, which was in a small enclosure about 15 feet square surrounded by a wall 5 feet high."

But the usual form of temple for many centuries at Hawaii had been the walled-in space, generally on a hillside, and divided up into compartments. There was one called the "pahika," which was built eleven generations before Ellis the missionary visited it about 1820, which would make its date about 1550. It was 270 feet long by 210 feet wide, truly a magnificent piece of masonry. There was another one, not quite so big, but of which we have fuller details, and which shows the final development of this form of temple; for while it was still new the white man's religion was brought to Hawaii, and this, the famous "heiau" of King Kamehameha, was probably the last to be built. It was made in 1793, on the slope of a hill, and was 150 feet long by a 100 feet wide, with walls 20 feet high, except on the side facing the

sea, where they were only 7 feet. Inside (to which access was gained by a passage between high walls) it was terraced, the upper terrace being paved. At the south end was an inner court particularly "tabu," where the priests lived in cells, and here also the images were placed, near them being the big wicker obelisk into which the priest entered in order to become inspired with the commands of the god. Near the outer entrance to this court was the altar.

Another Hawaiian one, called Kanaikahaora, 150 feet long by 70 feet wide, was interesting, as it showed the mixture of the two types. It was the usual walled-in temple, with special compartments, but the altar was "a mound faced with stone"—in fact a degenerate form of pyramid.

Some of the most extraordinary puzzles in the South Seas were the Nanga temples of Fiji, which I have considered in Chapter X, and may have been built by stragglers from some "dropped" colony of Polynesians. A typical one was built in much the same fashion as a Hawaiian "heiau," but with lower walls, and was 100 feet long by 50 feet wide, with an inner court, very "tabu." This was divided from the outer one by two small pyramids, and at the entrance there were two more pyramids about 5 feet high. I am inclined to think that remains of similar structures may yet be found in some of the lesser-known islands of the Pacific. Only in 1911 the late Mr. Humphrey Berkeley of Fiji reported the finding of some great morticed stone ruins, 250 feet long by 50 feet wide, in far off Fanning Island.

CHAPTER XV

STONE REMAINS (*continued*)

LIKE all great stone buildings of ancient times lack of machinery in the Pacific was made up for by unlimited human labour. Slaves built the pyramids of Egypt, a whole nation was taken to make the great fortress of Cuzco in Peru.¹ Fornander was told by an old man who had actually helped in the building of the last great "heiau" at Hawaii that thousands of men from surrounding districts had been brought in and encamped on the hillsides, and that their feeding, work, and relaxation had all been carefully organized; while "to ensure the help of the gods" human sacrifices were made at frequent intervals! In the same way, no doubt, the huge works in the Carolines were made by countless thousands of people, who once inhabited a land now but sparsely populated. One of the great buildings there was a many-chambered rectangular temple, and in the exact centre was a square vault known to this day as the "Chau-te-

¹ In the time of the 10th Inca, 4,000 men quarried the stones, 6,000 transported them on rollers for 15 miles to the building site, and 10,000 more dressed and squared them as they arrived. And these 20,000 men at the end of each three months were replaced by 20,000 others, and thus the work went on for many years.

real." "Chau" I imagine to be a dialect variation of the Sau or Hau, meaning king, of other parts of the Pacific, and possibly "re-al" may have some connection with Ra, the Sun. The vault was probably the burial place of some forgotten king, and the temple was built round it (unless, indeed, it was a chamber from which to take observations of the Sun's transit, just as rock chambers were hewn out for this purpose by prehistoric people in England, and just as—it has been suggested—the chamber at the bottom of the sloping shaft in some of the Egyptian pyramids may have been used). It is curious that in the centre of the Hawaiian "heiau" called Kanakaheilani there was a square sunk cavity known as "the bath of the king," and if really used as such it was a strange fitting for a temple, unless used for the removal of "tabu." The original use of it may have been forgotten, it may have once been another "Chau-te-real." I am inclined to think that even a burial vault theory is more probable than that of a bath.

The great square stone-lined vaults were a feature of many Polynesian burial places, and as the obvious idea was to *preserve* the body of the dead (which, indeed, was in some instances, as at Faka-ofu, actually furthered by embalming) I cannot help thinking that the stone vault in the Pacific was a makeshift for the rock-tombs of Asia, where also the dead were preserved. In these coral islands there were no cliffs of hard rock to be excavated, but there were ample supplies of coral-limestone easily split into slabs, and with these they made the "rock-tomb" as their ancestors had done. I am the more inclined to suggest



MAKING SINNET, FIJI. (MUCH USED FOR LASHING HOUSES.)

this because we know that in many islands where caves *were* present, they were used for the embalmed bodies of the dead, as in New Zealand. This may be considered to be in opposition to the usual theory that the stone vault of the Pacific was meant to represent the *house* which some tribes built for their dead, but when one studies the fundamental idea there is, after all, very little difference.

In Tonga, perhaps, was the stone vault brought to its greatest perfection. Mariner, who was present at the burial of Finau, says that the vault of the king's tomb was ten feet deep, and the immense stone lid of it took between one and two hundred men pulling with ropes to raise up one end. This vault was capable of holding thirty bodies, and he remarks that when it was opened there were one or two corpses there that looked as well preserved as the day they had first been put in.

The stone vault was also used at Rotumah Island ; and in Hawaii Ellis described how he was shown ancient tombs of rough lava, imperfectly covered by enormous blocks of the same material, "and in which still remained bones of several ancient kings" (near it was one of the walled-in "places of refuge," a typical Semitic institution). We have already seen how the dead were buried in cavities below the sacred pavements at Tahiti and Easter Island ; and it remains to be noted how in all cases it appears to be the chiefs who were buried in vaults or caves, while the commoners were interred in the earth or disposed of in other ways, *and usually in a sitting position.*

We now pass to a curious variety of megalithic

monument that has roused much controversy in the Pacific, namely, the great trilithon of Tonga. This, with others of smaller size in one or two other places, has been a matter of particular interest, as we have much the same structure at home, at Stonehenge. There are, however, two peculiarities about the Tongan trilithon, one is that it has the hollowed basin on the cross-beam, and the other is that this cross-beam is morticed into the uprights. It has been pointed out that the morticing of the stone structures in the Pacific implies an early separation from the mainland of Asia, before the use of mortar was in vogue, but the same reasoning hardly applies to the trilithon, as the similar ones at Stonehenge are not morticed in, and yet mortar was certainly not used by the Stonehenge people. On the other hand the usual method of placing a wooden cross-beam on two wooden uprights in house-building in the Pacific is to adze a deep groove in the head of the upright in order that the horizontal beam may be "morticed" into it, and sinnet lashings are then applied to prevent the beam slipping in times of gales. But, to mortice a huge block of stone into the stone uprights, seems an unnecessary labour, as no ordinary phenomenon of nature would shift such a weight, even if only placed flat on its broad posts. The people who built Stonehenge, and built it in no unscientific manner, took no precautions of this kind, nor are the trilithons in Peru (there is one near the Peru-Bolivia boundary) put up in this way. From the morticing alone, therefore, one might conclude that the trilithon had been erected as part of a house, or at least by a people who had the ordinary wooden

house-construction in their minds when building it. We know from tradition that a certain Ari, about A.D. 450, built at Samoa a house "with stone pillars and beams," and ruins of ancient stone houses have been found through Indonesia.

In the Pacific the type of temple or sacred place of the gods was, with the early Polynesians, either the stone pavement and pyramid, or the walled-in, but roofless, "heiau"; but this trilithon at Tonga would at first sight seem to imply a support for a roof. One is therefore driven to the conclusion that, since the temples were roofless, it could not have been part of one; while if it had been part of a house why should this part remain and all the rest disappear? The explanation seems to me to be that it was neither part of a temple nor of a house, but was complete in itself, a monument at which religious rites were practised.

Now there are two possible meanings for it. One is that it was a sacred "threshold" connected with the belief in re-incarnation. We know that a totem-cult existed in Tonga, and possibly also in Tahiti and the Marquesas, where bird and fish emblems have been found. The Polynesian threshold was a particularly "tabu" thing. To this day, in every respectable Fijian house there is one entrance, the special threshold, that is reserved for chiefs, while the other entrance is for commoners; a remembrance of the early times when only chiefs could break the "tabu" surrounding it. We saw, on page 154, how at the Tui Thakau's funeral a woman sprinkled one threshold with water while the corpses were being passed through

the other—evidently the “commoner’s” threshold. This was probably to remove temporarily the “tabu” from the sacred threshold so as to leave at least one free doorway for ordinary people to come in and go out by. In other islands commoners had to get down on their hands and knees when crossing a threshold; and there is also a peculiar “tabu” associated with a Polynesian threshold when a son who has never yet seen his father wishes to enter the house (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*).

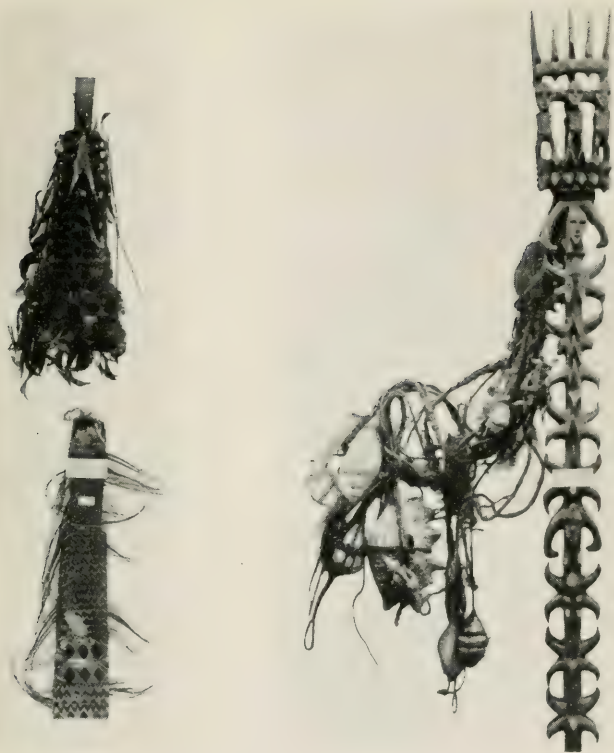
Was the “passing through a threshold” connected with the idea of re-birth or re-incarnation? If so it might very possibly have been a feature of certain of the “holy places.” On the sacred pavement, described by Stevenson, in the Marquesas, was “a single joist, its uprights richly carved.” He does not mention whether this was of stone or wood, but as all the rest of the structure was stone one imagines this must have been also, or the difference would have been noted. Carved stone pillars are recorded from Pitcairn Island (where there were also “platforms” and images as at Easter Island); and from Guam (Marianne Islands). Stevenson’s “joist,” I suppose, was a cross-beam on two uprights, in other words a trilithon. When passing through the Eastern Pacific I had the pleasure of meeting the Deputy Governor of Tahiti and the Marquesas, and have since from time to time corresponded with him, and he tells me that the stone antiquities of the latter group are fast disappearing. To my great regret I had no opportunity of calling at the Marquesas, but to any one going there I feel sure that a visit to this old temple at Hatehau

would well repay the trouble in getting to it. The only other known trilithons in the Pacific beside those at Tonga being the smaller ones at Santa Maria in the New Hebrides.

The other explanation may be that these isolated trilithons were "sun-measurers," like those described at the beginning of Chapter XIV. That is, that when the sun just passed under the horizontal beam its rays, at a special time of the year, would strike some other stone in the neighbourhood. If the sun did not rise off a flat horizon, but came up from behind a hill, the extra height of the trilithon would be accounted for. And if it were a "sun-measurer," and therefore presumably associated with sacrifices, the bowl on the top might be for the blood and heart of the victim, or for cremating the flesh, as in Hawaii, and not for kava at all. One other remarkable feature about the Tongan trilithon is that the huge stones (the uprights alone are each six feet deep by three feet wide, *and sixteen feet above the ground*) are alleged to have been brought from Wallis Island, 550 miles to the north. Mr. Symonds, the British Consul, and an amateur geologist, reported that there was no trace of stone in Tonga just like this; and, further, that he had been shown the place at Wallis Island where, according to native tradition, the stones were quarried. There is no doubt that ancient races considered certain of their stones to be particularly holy, and laboriously fetched them from long distances rather than use other stones which lay at hand. An instance of this is our own Stonehenge, where the stones of the middle ring are foreign to the locality.

The people who built this Tongan trilithon may possibly have lived for some generations at Wallis Island en route to Tonga. It has been said that the structure was put up as a penance by some conquered tribe, but there is obviously more reason for it than simply this. It is quite possible that a conquered tribe had to do the work of erection as a punishment, but the trilithon when completed was required for some definite purpose, and I think one of the two explanations I have given above will furnish the answer.

There is another form of stone structure so universal in Polynesia that it causes no comment, yet to any new arrival from Melanesia it cannot but be a source of surprise, and that is the high stone foundation that every house of any importance stands upon. It cannot be merely a question of being raised off the mud; there is just as much mud in Melanesia as in Polynesia, and, moreover, the Polynesian villages in most cases are—and in earlier times always were—built whenever possible on hills or raised ground. It seems more probable that the immigrant Polynesians when first coming to live amongst a strange people, whether in Indonesia or in the Pacific, had to protect themselves from any sudden onslaught, and so raised their dwellings on massive foundations, to become miniature fortresses. In Melanesia we find this scheme still carried on in Gaua and Santa Cruz Islands, in both of which there are strong Polynesian traces; and in Fiji it is noteworthy that the high foundation or “yavu” is even to-day the sign of the conquering “chief” class; I have often had it indignantly pointed



REPRESENTATIVES OF GODS, COOK ISLANDS.
(Photos by permission of the London Missionary Society.)

out to me that "so-and-so" (some commoner) is building himself a high "yavu," just like a chief!

A foundation of a foot or two is a desirable thing for native houses, to keep the damp out, and has now been made obligatory by law, but some of the older "chiefs" had stone foundations fourteen or fifteen feet high, the greatest chief having the greatest "yavu." It will be remembered (the Tongan king and his pulpit was an instance) how a Polynesian chief must be, literally, raised above a commoner, and this also may have had something to do with it; whilst there was also, in the case of the kings of earlier days, the dread power of the "tabu," and the necessity of keeping the great chief as high off the earth as possible, in a sort of "suspended" condition, lest by touching it at the wrong time he should be doing some harm to the land. Polynesian kings were always carried from place to place; and in Tahiti, on landing after a sea-voyage, the king's herald would go in advance to a serf village and say "I want a 'broken calabash' for the king," when the man in charge would, without demur, produce some unfortunate wretch, whose skull was promptly broken by a blow from a stone weapon held by the herald, and whose body was taken "for the king to tread on when landing," a sort of insulating medium between him and the earth. I think a relic of this, that is still occasionally to be seen in the Lau Islands, is the "Lautafua," a long broad carpet of "tappa" reaching from the sea-edge to the house of reception. Ratu Sukuna, a high chief of Fiji and "vasu" to the Lau Islands, was thus honoured on his first return from the Great War, his canoe being

bodily picked out of the water and carried, with him still on it, over the great carpet for several hundred yards to the house.¹

And since the idea of Fertility (and therefore marriages) is also closely connected with the "tabu" it is probable that we have a parallel custom to those of Tahiti and Lau in the Cook Islands, for here a bridal couple formerly walked along a human pathway of young men, who threw themselves down for this purpose in front of the procession.

Though the dread of touching anything "tabu" was almost universal there were at least two occasions when such contact was deliberately sought. One was at Tonga where, at the coronation ceremony, allegiance to the king was sworn by placing the hands on the sacred kava-bowl; and the other was also at coronation ceremonies, when the king at Savage Island was proclaimed king while leaning with his back against a sacred stone. This latter had no doubt at one time been a god, or rather a temporary place of abode for a god. For just as the ghosts of the dead would at times enter the images or representations of the dead, such as the "re-made" men at Malekula (see page 118), or perhaps the images at the Easter Island burial-places,² so also the representation of the god would

¹ This chief was at Oxford when the war started, and immediately volunteered for service. He was wounded twice, but returned again to France from Fiji in the spring of 1917, with a contingent with which I myself happened to be connected, and I take this opportunity of adding my testimony to that of others regarding his high standard of duty on all occasions.

² Turner reported that at Nukufetau Island in the Ellice Group stones were placed over the graves and heads carved on them.

at times become animated by the presence of the god. The features of the god, and the material of which the effigy was made, were really unimportant, they might either be a conventional rendering of a supposed likeness or else not a likeness at all, but merely a stick wound round with "tappa," or a stone with some feathers attached. The important thing was that the god on occasion entered into this emblem and quickened it with his "mana" or influence.

And therefore at Savage Island the new king, henceforward to be so closely associated with the gods, was to receive this influence by direct contact with the divine power that gave it.¹ There was a similar "coronation stone" in close proximity to which the king had to be seated, at Futuna Island. In these one is reminded of the ancient stone let into the coronation chair at Westminster Abbey.

The idea of a temporary habitation of the god is implied in the very name used in many parts for such "shrines" or dwelling-places, that is the "Wanka" (Fijian), or "Waka" (Polynesian), meaning literally the canoe or ship, in which the god might for a while float. When gathering information about the old gods in the Lau Islands I have often had it carefully pointed out to me that, for instance, a certain stone—or perhaps a living bird or fish—was not the actual god itself, but merely its "Wanka." As I write this it has occurred to me that the "Sau-wanka," which is the Fijian name for the Javan Murex (the sacred

¹ When Stevenson was hypnotized by a Gilbert Island magician to cure a cold he was first of all made to seat himself upon a sacred stone, facing the east.

ceremonial offering in ancient days before the comparatively modern "whale's tooth") was probably so-called as it was thought to be the "Wanka" of the Sau or King. And the same idea, and in fact the self-same word, as "Waka," is used right across the Pacific from "Tau-wa'a" (which may be a dialect variation of "Sau-wanka") in the Caroline Islands to "Huaka" or "Waka" in Peru. And this idea of the god-head resting in its ship or canoe is undoubtedly the prime meaning of the sacred Ark of both the Babylonians and the Hebrews, the ark of the Flood legend being merely combined with it.

In many parts of the Pacific the entry of the god into his shrine was an annual affair, and was no doubt in close analogy with the Pa'e-atua ceremony at Tahiti of passing the Sun's essence into his emblem (page 137). At Faka-ofu Island the stone god called Tui Tokelau was once a year brought out, its mats were unwrapped and taken away, and it was then carefully anointed with oil and wrapped up again in fresh mats brought by the worshippers. Somewhat similar to this were the two stone gods, male and female, of Tikopia Island, who were dug up when their assistance was required, washed, anointed with turmeric, and then wrapped in fresh pieces of "tappa" cloth. And in the west of Ireland—where, like Cornwall, so many customs and stone remains are found akin to those of the Pacific—there was, not so many generations ago, a stone god called Neevougi, who, when his assistance was wanted, was brought out, and wrapped up in fresh pieces of flannel.¹

¹ *History of the Progress of the Reformation in Ireland.*



WOODEN GOD FROM COOK ISLANDS, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Photo by permission of the London Missionary Society.)

At those times when the god did not actually happen to be animating his stone the worshippers paid but slight heed to this emblem, and in this is the great difference between such stones, and idols, which were worshipped for themselves alone. The people of the Pacific can never really have been called idolators, rather they were mystics, worshipping some mysterious presence who only occasionally evidenced his powers in his emblem.¹ In New Zealand some of the priests used to wake up the sleeping god who brooded in the neighbourhood of his effigy by jerking the image by a string tied round its neck; but they meant no impertinence to the god himself. And thus, no doubt, the King of Tahiti, on Christianity sweeping over the land, felt the less fear or compunction in allowing the wooden effigy of the god Oro to be used as a post in his kitchen, for the presence of the god had been driven away from its neighbourhood for ever.

The existence of the god in certain stones gave them that special power by which they could pass on the influence to other objects placed in proximity to them, such as the Fijian black stone in the British Museum, the "mother of tabua," which could cause the "tabua," or valuable whale's teeth, to multiply. But the generative idea in connection with stones was no uncommon thing, probably originating with Phallic-worship; and "husband and wife" stones are known all over the Pacific, and (like most other Polynesian affairs) in Peru also. The great Fijian god, Dengei,

¹ Although it has been insisted on that in some parts of the world an unadulterated idolatry was practised, I am rather doubtful whether any primitive people really worshipped an image as a permanent god.

was born of two stones that lay at the bottom of a moat; O Rewau (who hated mosquitoes) was a stone who had two stone wives, one from Yandua and one from Yasawa; while the first man and the first woman in Lifu (Loyalty Islands) were two stones. At Hiva-oa (Marquesas) there were two stone images, eight feet high, of "King Takii and his wife Fau-Po'e," who were said to have lived more than forty generations ago; and this may illustrate how historical people may in time become mythical gods, for I think that O Rewau of Fiji probably was at one time an actual person and took by conquest two wives from places far apart. He is now forgotten as a man but remembered as a god. In the same way the emaciated little wooden images from Easter Island, with their distended ears, "Punch"-like noses,¹ and goatee beards, may have been a conventional rendering of a real tribe of people; and we know that one of the images, beardless and with normal ears, was intended for Captain Cook. The Earl of Pembroke noticed also that at Huahine Island (Society Group) "... the best spears almost always have a head with a nose and chin like Punch's carved on them, as have also their canoes. . . ."

¹ The hook-noses were noticed among the living people by Captain Beechey, one of the early white visitors, when he called there. To-day this distinguishing feature seems to be not so marked. Can the people who were of that type have been in a decided minority and their characteristics rapidly stamped out in a few generations? The emaciation is extreme, but they do not represent actual skeletons, as the bones of the limbs are not carved. They are, therefore, not the "dead," the ancestors, but rather the living, in the last stages of starvation. They may therefore be intended as lasting memorials of the exhausted state in which their ancestors drifted to the island.

It is a curious thing that in the Western Pacific (where the people were skilful carvers), and in the Eastern Pacific, one finds actual stone or wood representations of the gods, whereas in the Central Pacific (the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa Group and "Micronesia") the gods are simply rough, untouched blocks of stone. One is reminded of the order as to altars in Exodus xx. 25: "Thou shalt not build it of hewn stone, . . ." the Semitic idea being that to carve or fashion stones with implements was to remove their sanctity.

And since there were "husband and wife" stones it seems possible that the little ones surrounding central stones which we find in some of the Micronesian Islands may be "children," but I am more inclined to think that these were set up for the same reason as "cromlechs" were erected in Europe. In the Gilbert Islands they sacrifice at one stone surrounded by a circle of others; and near Apia (Samoa) there was a stone circle known as "the House of Fe'e" (Fe'e being the old war-god, whose living shrine was the octopus). There are probably other stone circles still undiscovered in some of the Pacific Islands.

I have already several times referred to the stone images on Easter Island, so will only mention in passing that Adams, the old mutineer from the *Bounty*, dug up several stone gods during his stay on Pitcairn Island, and that Captain Beechey subsequently recorded seeing four other ones, six feet high, on a stone platform, very like the Easter Island ones. The ones at the Marquesas were not unlike the Easter images, as shown in the illustration facing page 82; and some others

at Necker Island, north-west of Hawaii, were much the same. It almost looks as if one race of people had scattered over the above-mentioned islands, leaving their stone images carved in the likeness of a man, *but had not reached as far as Central Polynesia*. Could they have come from Peru, where similar images were also found ?¹

In Central Polynesia the stones were rough, unhewn, and shapeless, but they inspired just as much reverence at the proper time. At Hudson's Island (Ellice Group) the great god Fui-i-langi was a stone six feet high, and before him was a stone altar on which were placed skulls. There was another god nine feet high at Nanumea Island in the same group. At the lonely Swain Island (Union Group), now devoid of human life, great unhewn pillars of stone are to be found set up on end, silent witnesses of a people who once inhabited the place. At Nikunau Island (Gilbert Group) Tapu-Ariki was the principal god, and was indicated by an upright stone ; whereas certain goddesses there were represented by stone slabs laid flat, the "dis-soloth" of Indonesia over again ! Most of these stones, like the famous mat-wrapped Tui Tokelau, were smashed to powder by the early missionaries in their pious zeal ; and, after all, who shall blame them ; it was probably necessary to make a clean sweep of the old régime, and they certainly did it !

¹ As I mentioned just now, any carved gods in the Western Pacific may be due merely to the innate love of the natives there for carving any thing at any time, like a small boy whittling a stick. Their work, however, was usually in the form of birds or fish, and only occasional figures of man were found, and then nearly always intended as "memorials of public men."

The stone gods of Samoa are interesting because so much of the early influence of Fiji—that Fiji that was “Polynesian” when most of the Pacific was still in the hands of the aboriginals—is to be seen there. It is probable that when the immigrants were finally expelled from Fiji many of them passed over to Samoa, and this would account for them taking with them (as was the Polynesian custom) some of their sacred stones to be set up in the new land. In one place some of these Fijian stones were preserved in a temple, and when a war was contemplated the priests would take them and build up a sort of wall with them, as an omen. If during the night the wall fell towards the *East* it implied defeat, but if it remained steady, or even fell to the West, it presaged victory. Other gods from Fiji were Tui Fiti and O le Alii o Fiti (which is really the Samoan rendering of Tui Fiti); and of human beings, such as Lau and Lii,¹ who were changed into stone, there seems to be no end.

Murray found in a temple at Samoa three stone gods that had special names strongly reminiscent of the flowery land of China, viz: “The Enduring Kingdom,” “The Unmovable,” and “The Stone-fixed-in-the-Kingdom.” It is possible that they were really memorial stones set up to commemorate the foundation of the new kingdom in Samoa by the refugees from

¹ The tradition is that Lau and Lii came from Fiji and settled at Upolu Island in a bay called “Sacred-to-the-gods.” They went off one day to another part of the country to witness the building of a famous canoe by three chiefs, but lost their way and never got there. In their chagrin they changed themselves to stone. . . . The story as it stands is foolish and without purpose, but there is probably some historical basis for the episode.

Fiji. Some day a key may be found for all these mysteries ; at present we can only grope in the dark, seeing a stray gleam of light here and there, living always in hope, but finding the position very tantalizing.

CHAPTER XVI

LANGUAGE AND PLACE-NAMES

ALTHOUGH the Polynesians are a people without a literature, they have a very well developed language,¹ and a language of peculiar interest to philologists, since it is one of the oldest living ones in the world, and a direct descendant of one of the oldest dead ones. The people, owing to their remote isolation through all the centuries in the Pacific, have been enabled to retain their ancient tongue in practically the same state as it was when they first burst into that ocean. And the philologist who first realized that in the Polynesian tongue he had come across what was virtually the extinct Turanian language must have had much the same thrill as a naturalist would if he suddenly came upon a giant "Moa" stalking about in New Zealand.

The Turanian is of the type known as "agglutinative," that is, its words are formed by additions of other words to the main root, just as, for instance, we manufacture the word "there-in." Modern examples of agglutinative languages are Finnish and Turkish, but the general tendency is for the agglutinative type to change on further development into the inflectional

¹ The New Zealand branch of the Polynesian language has some 15,000 words.

type. Two well-known inflectional languages that succeeded the Turanian were the Semitic and the Aryan, and in just the same romantic way as the Rosetta stone gave us the key to the hidden literature of Egypt, so also did a bi-lingual inscription on a clay brick give us side by side the language of Akkad, or Turanian, and that of the Semitic-Babylonians.

In tracing the remote ancestry of a people, language is but a weak reed to lean upon ; for, owing to foreign conquests, one may on the one hand find vestiges of the same tongue thousands of miles apart yet spoken by entirely different nations, while on the other hand people of the same main stock and living only a few miles apart may speak a quite different language, as we find in the Solomon Islands to this day. But in the case of the Polynesians, at all events during their sojourn in the Pacific, there has been no external influence to alter their speech, no conquest *excepting only in the Melanesian islands* to shake the very roots of their language. One curious fact, however, stands out, and that is that (contrary to the accepted rule of etymology, that "language follows the mother") the Polynesian language has remained strong and still distinctly traceable in some of even the "Melanesian" islands, where the immigrant seafarers took wives from the local people, because it was used as a *lingua franca* among a number of small aboriginal tribes who could not otherwise understand each other, a sort of "pidgin-English" in Polynesian.¹

So then, we find one main language (subject to quite minor dialect variations) recognizable in Melanesia,

¹ *History of Melanesian Society.*

and unmistakable throughout Polynesia, through all the countless scores of islands that cover the surface of the Pacific, from Australia to Canada, from Asia to Peru; and a man in the far-off Hawaiian Islands can thus converse with a Maori from New Zealand, or an Easter Islander with a native of Tonga—surely one of the most remarkable instances of the brotherhood of language the world has ever known. And remarkable for this reason: the Hawaiian Islander (until the white man taught him geography) did not know of the New Zealander's existence, the Easter Islander probably thought that Easter Island was the only country in the world, for many centuries had passed away since their fathers separated to plough their lonely ocean ways.

Had the speech, from the beginning of the great "trek," only remained as pure as it has kept since the arrival into the Pacific we might have had the startling effect of finding a Polynesian (once having re-learned the forgotten writing of his forefathers) reading off with understanding the ancient clay bricks of the mighty extinct civilizations of Western Asia; but it was not to be. For, during the long journey of the seafarers they had become influenced by contact with many alien races, and Egyptian, Assyrian, Arabic, Persian, Indian, and even Mongolian languages have all brought their quota to the ultimate result of "Polynesian" as we know it; and though we may assume that the original agglutinative Turanian tongue was the language of their primal ancestors there is very little of a defined and pure nature about the speech as we know it to-day.

There was once a nation (who have been termed the "Armenoid" people) who originated from the country north of Mesopotamia, the cradle of the world. And to them there came a time, several thousand years ago, when—as nations will—they felt impelled to burst the confines of their country, and—overcoming all resistance—poured into the Mediterranean, becoming a dominant factor in Egypt, and also broke through to the Persian Gulf, sending out coasting expeditions in each direction from there. It was probably in this way that they invaded North-West India as the "Turanian-speaking element" that historians write of, about 2500 B.C., before the Aryans arrived on the scene. The Nagas of to-day are probably their descendants; and in language, customs, and appearance the Polynesians show many points of striking resemblance to these Nagas.

At a later time the Aryan-speaking people in their turn invaded India, and no doubt dwelt for a time along the valley of the Ganges, in close contact with the earlier "Armenoid" settlers, until they gradually pushed them outwards and onwards to Burma and Malaysia, giving them, however, a few words of their Aryan language in the process.

In the meantime the section of the Armenoid people who had invaded Egypt had learnt from the Nile-dwellers many useful ideas about shipbuilding, and had sent out colonies round the coasts of Arabia, eventually joining up again with their cousins from the Persian Gulf and extending their expeditions along the shores of India in one direction and down the coasts of East Africa in the other. And in the onward

march of the centuries they came to be strongly influenced by the Semitic element, becoming known to history as the Phœnicians, the great traders of the world, who even reached our own shores a thousand years before the Christian era. But their expeditions were always *coastal* ones, they had as yet no need to acquire the art of crossing the vast ocean spaces. And it was during these expeditions that they absorbed the different elements in their language which, brought down through Indonesia and the islands further east, eventually became known to us as the Polynesian tongue.

It is still possible to pick out some of these different elements, and the fact that we find so few Sanskrit words among them shows us how early the people must have entered the Pacific, before Sanskrit came into common use among the countries they had passed through.

Before following up one or two of the more interesting words and place-names to their source it would be as well to note what changes among the letters occur in the dialects of the Pacific. The commonest interchanges are those of H and S, as seen in Samoa, known to the Tongans as Hamoa; and K and T, as seen in Tangata, a man (New Zealand), which becomes Tamata (Fijian), and Kanaka¹ (Hawaiian).

Another frequent interchange is that of R and L. We thus see how Tangaroa, the god (New Zealand), may become Ta'a'oa in the Marquesas, and Kanaloa in Hawaii.

¹ The g of ng often drops out as one proceeds east. In the Marquesas many consonants drop out at every opportunity.

V may become softened and aspirated to F or Wh, thus Valé, a house (Fijian), becomes Falé (Samoan), Wharé (New Zealand), and even Halé (Hawaiian).

Vowel changes are uncommon, except O and U, and—occasionally—A and E. There are some words that can be traced unchanged to the nations of the ancient world, such as Ra, the Sun (Egyptian), and Sina, the Moon (Babylonian), while Pa, a fort is, I am informed, another old Assyrian word, and is also found in the Naga language.

Maté and Tabu are known in the Hebrew,¹ the root of the former possibly occurring also in the Latin Mors, mortis, and more nearly in the Spanish Mata, kill or make die, from which the bullfight term “mata-dor” is coined. (It has been pointed out that the word also is found in old Arabic, and that our chess expression “check-mate” is really Sheik-mat’, “the sheik [or king] is dead”.) The Latin word may have either been given by Italy to our roving “seafarers,” or else received by Italy from them, for there is no doubt that they ventured not only to Italy but to all parts of the Mediterranean, and even round Europe to our own coasts, in their ceaseless search for wealth. The Spanish variation may have come from the Latin or else possibly through the Moors when they overran Spain.

The misogynist who reads this chapter will see how woman gets to every corner of the earth, for the latter half of that modern-manufactured English word was

¹ When Sir Basil Thomson was acting as the white Prime Minister to King George II of Tonga, the King told him one day that he had discovered no less than six Tongan words in a single page of a Hebrew Bible that had been given him.

possibly carried to ancient Greece as γύνη by the same people who took it south via India (ba-ghini), Java (ba-hiné), to New Zealand (wa-hiné). Another word common to England, Greece, and Polynesia is sea-urchin, seen as ἑχῖνος, (Greece), and ekina (New Zealand). The Greek ἰχθυς is also found as the Polynesian ika, a fish; while a word particularly interesting to Polynesia is that word itself, for the Greek νησος, an island, is found (allowing for a common change of S and K) ¹ in the Pacific as nuku, in the Mediterranean as Ich-nusa—the old name for Sardinia—and in Madagascar, another resting place of these ancient seafarers, as Nusi-Ibrahim, the island of Abraham.

That they made their way inland into Africa, always hunting for gold and trade, is shown by the Zimbabwe ruins in Mashonaland as well as by the names and words they left behind in other parts. Koro, or Kolo, a town or circled fortified encampment, is common, the late Sir William McGregor once told me, to many parts of Africa as well as the Pacific, while the possibilities in the name Tanganyika, so startlingly translatable as the Fijian Tanga-ni-ika, or “Bag-of-fish,” cannot now be so promptly dismissed as they once were before we realized the great journeys that this wandering people made. Ru-figi, the African river, where the warship *Konigsberg* was run to earth, is quite possibly also connected with the Fiji of the Pacific.

Although the latter place is so spelled on the maps

¹ Namusa in the Molucca Islands becomes Namuka Island in both the Fiji and Tonga Groups.

it should more strictly be Viti. The missionaries and sea-captains all came from the east via the Lau Islands, and in that group the letter T is usually softened to J. The result is that the Lau people told them that the islands to the west were called "Fiji" and thus the group was mapped. The general rule seems to have been that in Indonesia the consonant was hard and pronounced, such as S or B, which became softened and aspirated as the people proceeded eastward across the Pacific. Two good instances of this are shown in the word Sarong, a flax mat used as a cloak in Java, which becomes Haronga, for the same article, in Samoa; the other instance being the place-name Labouk' (Borneo), which gradually changes as one goes east to Levuka (Fiji), Lifuka (Tonga), and Lehu'a (Hawaii). From the same analogy we may yet find a Biti to the west, and we do find going east Viti (the British colony as it should be spelled), Ta-Fiti, as it was called by the Samoans, and TaHiti in the Society Islands.

And thus we can understand the changes which the ancient place-name Saba has gone through on its journey east (for the custom of conveying a cherished home-name to the new colony, as Lincoln, Boston, New York, or Gloucester have been conveyed, is by no means a new idea). There was a famous Saba, perhaps three thousand years ago, in Mesopotamia, of which S. Laing, in his *Human Origins* wrote: "In the eighth century B.C., Saba was then an ancient kingdom, and, as the inscriptions show, had long since undergone the same transformation as Egypt and Chaldea, from the rule of priest-kings of independent

cities into a unified empire. These priest-kings were called Maka-rib', or high-priests-of-Saba, showing that the original state must have been a theocracy and the name Saba, like Assur, that of a god"

Diodorus Siculus, the old-world historian, wrote of this Saba, and we have a passing reference or two in the Bible where the Sabæans (the people of Saba) are stated to have been "men of stature," and where "the King of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from *Ava* . . . and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel" (2 Kings, chap. xvii).

Even in those early days there were, of course, dialect variations just the same as to-day, and probably one section of the people dropped or else aspirated the letter S and interchanged the B and V. Thus, on the eastern fork of the Red Sea, on the route of the Israelites returning from bondage, is Ak-aba; while the immortal Queen of Sheba was probably the Queen of Saba. Eventually this great kingdom collapsed, as mighty empires have done before and will ever continue to do, and was finally overthrown by the Romans some little time B.C. But before this it had sent out its colonies, and with them its name, stamped as a landmark for all time, to be re-discovered at last in the remote waters of the far Pacific.

The people can be traced from the Persian Gulf right across northern India (those who took the overland route), and round the Indian coast also (those who kept to the sea). I think it was S. P. Smith who first pointed out that Bengal is, in the Mahabaretta, called Ava. We know that Ava was the capital of

Burma for the four centuries preceding 1740; and that Pegu was formerly called by that name. In Arakan the Mauri Sun-worshippers were known, and at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula (the Golden Chersonese) the name resumes the S once more as Saba. (Was it here that the land-travellers lost their influence, and the explorers taking the sea-route came to their own again?)

From there onwards Shava or Java (Sumatra, too, was Java to the traders of old), Saba in North Borneo, the bay of Sawa-i in Gilolo, Sawa-i in Ceram, Sava between Sandalwood Island and Timor, all mark the stopping-places up to the gates of the Pacific.

Ongtong-Java in the Solomons, Sawa-yeki in Fiji, Savai'i in Samoa, are only a few of the known names that still remain. Probably scores of them have been lost or changed in the ages that followed.

In Tonga the ordinary interchange of S and H is shown and the name appears as Hapa'i. In Bora-Bora Island (Society Group) it is Sawa-iki, in the Hawaiian Group it is of course Hawa'ii. The suffix iki or i'i is the Polynesian for "little" and is what one would expect to be given to each new colony named after the preceding older and larger one, but Smith points out that since there was a Hawaiki-nui, which would mean literally "Great-little-Hawa," the term is an absurdity, and iki must therefore be a corruption of Ariki, royal. But I cannot help thinking that if after some centuries a suburb of, say, Littlehampton separated off as a new town the original place might without absurdity come to be known as "Great Little-



LAU ISLAND TYPE. BLEND OF POLYNESIAN AND MELANESIAN--BUT LARGELY
THE FORMER.

(Photo by permission of A. M. Hocart, Esq.)

hampton." But whichever it is, the essential part of the name is Hawa, Hava, or Saba.

The movement north of these seafarers does not really concern this book, excepting that it is interesting to see how even the Pacific Islanders have been linked with ourselves by these shadowy rovers of the dim ages of long ago. Sailing through the Mediterranean they were the cause of the erection of a circular temple to the Sun in Thrace, dedicated to Bacchus *Saba-zius*. (The Phœnician—and Hebrew—Zaba-oth was a name applied to the Sun-god in the autumn, and was adopted by David.) Diodorus Siculus, quoting from Hecataeus, says: "The Hyperboreans inhabit an island beyond Gaul in which Apollo is worshipped in a circular temple considerable for its size and riches." This circular temple, similar to the one to Bacchus *Saba-zius*, might have possibly been Stonehenge—the "island beyond Gaul" being Britain. And the name itself reached us, too, in Ava-lon, the paradise of ancient forefathers, which some thought was situated in the west country. Glastonbury, of holy memories, has even been connected with it.

Hades, according to ancient ideas, was the place of all departed spirits, good or bad, and the idea of a burning hell as a punishment is a comparatively modern one. The "burning" part of it was probably introduced by peoples who lived in the vicinity of volcanoes and had the practical demonstration of what the "underworld" looked like always before their eyes, or else the "place of burning" may have been introduced by Fire-worshippers, not as a punishment but simply as the place of a symbolical refinement and

preparation of the body for the soul before its final passing on. Thus Ava-iki among the people of the Pacific meant their paradise, the place their souls would eventually return to, and Avaiki, among the people of India, meant the fiery hades, apparently very different ideas, yet, traced to their source, not really so incongruous as they seem. And they both arose from the real place Saba, which in the course of centuries had become thus mythical and legendary to the descendants of the original adventurers who had set out from it.

Burotu or Burutu is another mythical paradise regarded in just the same way, but by a different division of that ancient people. On the river Euphrates was a place called Burutu, from which this branch probably came.¹ (The word "tu" means eminent, holy, or upstanding, and is found in such words as tu-hunga (New Zealand), a priest; tu-ahu (New Zealand), an altar; tu-ranga (Fijian), a chief. Thus we can translate this as Holy Buro or Buru. The name is continued in Buro, the Indonesian island; in Bouro, which was the native name for San Christoval (Solomon Group) before the Spaniards renamed it in 1568; and in Matuku Island (Lau Group), where there is a tribe still called the Burotu people. Burotu, Bulotu, or Bulutu is the legendary "home of the departed spirits" (which implies, of course, the land whence the ancestors came), but this particular place seems to be exclusive to the Fiji-Tonga-Samoan branch. Ratumaibulu, the Fijian god of plentiful harvests and fertility, takes his name "Mai Bulu" as "from Bulu." It lay

¹ *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. IV. (Dr. Carroll).

vaguely to the "north-west," and though in southern Lau this paradise is placed in the south-east it may merely imply a "back-wash" of origin from the near-by Tongan group.

I mentioned just now how in India there were at one time "Mauri," Sun-worshippers. "Maori" has been regarded so long as a name of the New Zealand branch of the Polynesians that we have come to look upon it as exclusively belonging to that country. But it, like Saba, is really a name marking the route of our seafarers all the way from western Asia to the Pacific. Just as Saba was a name for places so was Maori a name for people, a large division of the race that came into the Pacific as "Polynesians." The Mahri are still known in southern Arabia; the Mauria were in India (the inscribed stone pillar of Asoka, the Maurya King, was mentioned in chapter VI) the Maori and the Maoi in Tahiti and the Marquesas (F. W. Christian), as well as Maori generally throughout the Pacific, meaning any of the "old original stock." If the Polynesians lived in America they would probably call the descendants of "the Pilgrim Fathers" the "Maori." Thus Maoi in Fiji is the term used for the genuine or "national" type of the Pawpaw fruit, in contradistinction to the other "foreign" varieties which have been introduced from Tonga or Samoa. And just as the seafarers took the place-name Saba north, through the Mediterranean, as well as south to the Pacific, so also I think it not unlikely that the tribal name Maori or Mori¹ was taken to north-west

¹ In the Philippines they are called Moro; in the Chatham Islands (off New Zealand), Moriori.

Africa as the "Moors," who at one time swept northwards up through Spain towards France, and from whom our ancient Morris dance was said to be named.

Fiti, Saba, Burotu, Maori, seem fairly obvious as marking the route of the old Polynesians, but there is one place-name that I am somewhat diffident about bringing forward in the same category, yet it is so important that I feel that it would not be right to omit it, merely because the proofs are not so strong as in the case of the others. I will therefore place it on record in the hope that others working in the same direction may light upon further proof. This name is Peru. There are a hundred and one little clues that point to a former connection of Peru with the Polynesian people, but I never considered the name itself as possibly Polynesian until Sir Everard im Thurn was good enough to send me a quotation from Zarata's *Discovery of Peru*, which showed that the Spaniards in 1524 discovered a district *called Peru*, a name that was afterwards extended to all the country for twelve hundred leagues to the south. In other words Peru was already a local place-name of those natives who, in countless other ways, appear to have been so closely associated with the people who came from across the Pacific. Zuniga, the Spanish historian in the Philippines, found many Peruvian place-names exactly the same as the old native names in that group of islands, but the actual name Peru is not unknown in the Pacific, for we have a Peru in the Celebes, another to the north-west of the Marianne Group, and another in the Gilberts. And with a very slight difference of pronunciation, a mere matter of dialect (for spelling of

course means nothing) is it not possible that Buru itself might prove the key to the puzzle? I do not unduly emphasize this, but I think it is at all events worth consideration.

Finally, I feel that this chapter on names cannot be complete without some reference to those mysterious people, the Menehuné, who have been mentioned once or twice in this book. Newman states that there was a tribe in India called the Manahuné, and another in Burma called by practically the same name, the Menehuné. In "Hiti-nui" (either Fiji or an island earlier in the route) we hear of "Tangaroa-Menehuné," and in Tahiti and Hawaii we hear of them again. Now this must obviously have been a distinct race of people traceable all along the route from India, but—unlike the people of Saba, the Maori, etc.—not to the west of India, and the possible explanation of this I will discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVII

PARTLY ANTHROPOLOGICAL—WHO WERE THE “FURTIVE-EYED” PEOPLE?

OWING to an early medical training the present writer has always had a certain interest in anthropology, but it has also had its drawbacks, as it has brought with it pre-conceived ideas, and one of these was that the Melanesians were all to be classed together as “the oceanic negroes.” In later times this nomenclature has, I believe, been considerably modified, and it is now generally acknowledged that the Melanesians are a mixture of several different races, hardly any of which were really of a true negro type at all, though for convenience I have in this book been referring to the aggregate result as “the negroid people.” And it has generally been considered that these have been confined to that western portion of the Pacific that is known as Melanesia.

It has been so repeatedly declared that the Polynesians—who, it is fairly certain, entered the Pacific about two thousand years ago—were the first to populate the eastern part of that ocean, hitherto empty, that I feel I shall be thought guilty of a great heresy when I state that, after careful consideration of the whole problem, I am convinced that not only were



MELANESIAN FROM TANNA.

Note the slit ears.

(Photo by permission of the *Melanesian Mission*.)

To face p. 274.



MELANESIAN FROM NEW BRITAIN.

Note overhanging eyebrow ridges.

(Photo from *British Museum (Natural History) Handbook*.)

all those eastern islands formerly peopled by "Melaneseans," but that even before them there was everywhere a prior race of negrito aboriginals, and, moreover, that both races were in existence in some islands of the eastern Pacific up to within the last few centuries, the Melanesian element even being in certain islands in full strength when the Spaniards first explored this new world. Further, I believe that not only did the Polynesians pass right on to South America, but that even before them the Melanesians had done the same thing. And my reasons for such beliefs I will now set down.

There are at least three main types of people in the Pacific, and the first of these is the Negrito, now very rarely to be seen. He is a short, round-headed, frizzy-haired type, without marked eyebrow ridges, and not unduly black of skin. His nose is short and fairly straight, but broad at the nostrils and depressed at the root. He is of much the same type as the Andaman Islander, and is to be seen, though often blended with other races, in parts of the Pelew Islands, the Philippines, Papua, and as the so-called pygmies of the New Hebrides, described by Dr. Speisser.

He was also known in tradition in Tahiti (the names of three tribes being recorded), and is probably traceable in some of the Fijian hill tribes to-day. Facing the following page I give a photograph that was exhibited by Mr. Hocart at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and I well remember the discussion it aroused, as it was obvious that it could not be reconciled with the ordinary extremely long-headed mountaineer tribes, hitherto thought to be the most primitive people of that group.

The Negrito is dull and apathetic, and for this reason probably was easily exterminated by the succeeding races.

The next main type is the "Melanesian," who is noted for his dark skin, overhanging eyebrow ridge, sunken orbits, longer nose, projecting lips, narrow and receding forehead, and generally dolichocephalic head. His face is somewhat angular, he has bushy, "up-standing" hair, and can grow a good beard when he wishes. He is quick and furtive in his movements, sulky according to European ideas, but a good worker under supervision. His legs are thin and weedy, but he is wiry and not easily tired.

The last of the three divisions is the Polynesian, who is brachycephalic, wavy-haired (it is usually round on cross-section), and without much hair on the face. He has high cheek-bones, which, with the hair, show the remote mongoloid ancestry, and when this is strengthened in the northern islands by more recent blendings from eastern Asia he frequently shows a just perceptible slanting of the eyelids. (It is this latter blended type that is known as the "Micronesian.") The lips of the Polynesian are thinner, the features more regular, and the chin better formed than in the case of the Melanesian.

He is a virile, sturdy, well-formed type, and his skin is sometimes not much darker than that of a southern European. He is, even to our ideas, handsome, and he has the carriage and bearing of a race of chiefs, and the intelligence to maintain by diplomacy a mastery that he acquired by force of arms.

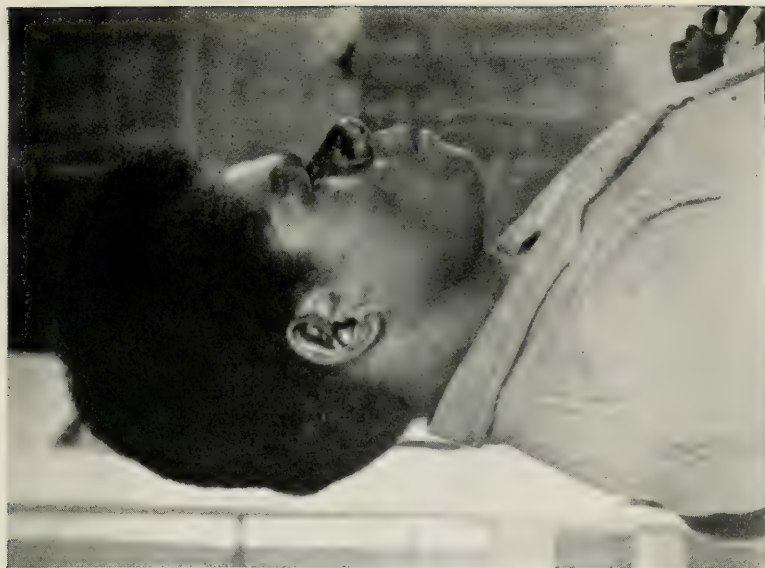
In Fiji both Melanesian and Polynesian types are



NEGrito GIRL FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

(Photo by Dr. G. W. Stevens.)

(Note the rounded heads, short frizzy hair, short noses, depressed at roots.)



NEGrito MIXTURE, FUJIAN.

(Photo by A. M. Hocart, Esq.)

still quite distinct in the western and eastern sides respectively of the colony (see illustrations facing pages 198 and 268), and the mental characteristics are equally defined.

It is impossible to say how long the Negrito, the aboriginal, has been in the Pacific, but it seems not unlikely that he was able to walk across vast areas of it, and make his way in rude skiffs to many others. He has probably been there for untold æons of time ; although the bed of the Pacific is constantly altering even now, and a dry land passage need not have been so very long ago, geologically speaking, as it would have to have been in the Atlantic. Volcanic action and earthquakes are frequent, and apart from these there is a slow subsidence apparently going on the whole time. During the ten years I was in the Lau Islands I happened to take particular notice of a stretch of road that bordered the sea in front of my house, and on which I had caused concrete mile-posts to be erected when I first went there. The sea had undoubtedly risen in level (or, rather, the land had subsided) during the time I lived there, so much so that I drew the attention to it of the members of an American geological expedition that visited the group at the latter end of my stay. If this could take place in ten years—only a few inches, but still noticeable—we can understand how the great stone causeways of the Marquesas and the Carolines may have been submerged many feet in the course of centuries.

So much for the Negrito. But when we turn to the Melanesian we have a problem indeed. To understand how he appeared on the scene it will be necessary

to turn once more to western Asia and the great upheavals of mankind that took place there many centuries ago.

The valleys of great rivers are always the most fertile tracts of country, and in addition give the easiest and smoothest means of progression for primitive man, that is, by water in a boat. Therefore, when the " Armenoid " people invaded India from the north-west, and moved up the Indus and down the Ganges they pushed out the previous settlers, or a large portion of them, and these passed on by the line of least resistance, in boats down the river and hugging the coast, till they got to the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Islands. Now these people expelled from India were the early Dravidians, or Melano-Indians, a swarthy, curly-haired race, a part of the " dark Caucasian " division of mankind. Some of them are still to be seen in Madras, the Deccan, and other places, but now crossed with the later Aryan invaders, and sometimes with the Armenoid people who came between.

Even they were not the first dwellers in India, but it is thought that a negrito people may have at one time lived here also.

These Melano-Indians seem to have had some connection with the Hamitic people of western Asia ; were noted builders in stone, in a primitive way ; and were probably Sun-worshippers. And when they reached Indonesia they mingled with the first of the " Armenoids," who had come round by sea, and the mixture—very little Armenoid—went on to the Pacific to conquer the aboriginals, take their women as wives, and found " the Melanesian people." They had suffi-

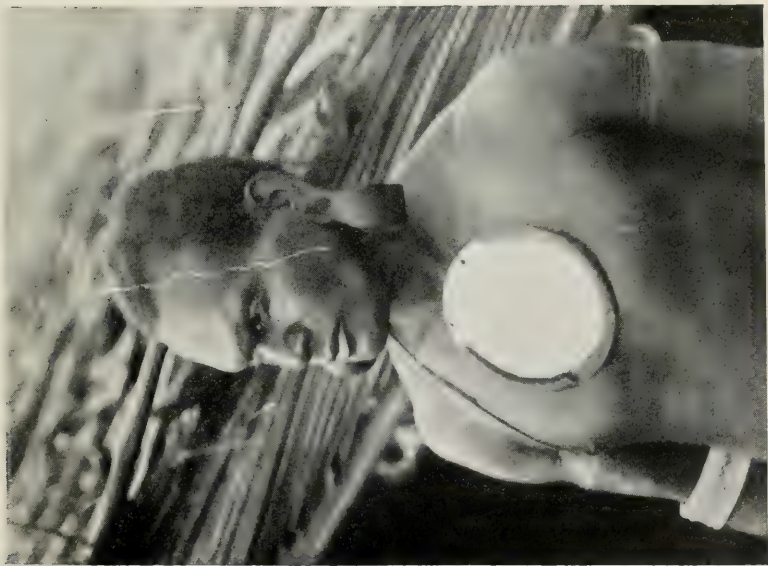
cient knowledge of sailing, obtained from the early Armenoid people, to make their way from island to island. More often chance directed their movements, and by the help of the westerly current, and in certain months the strong westerly monsoons, they drifted across the ocean, and in the course of centuries reached almost every island, and probably even America. But they were not planned voyages of set purpose, like those of the skilful Polynesians.

The first start of the movement probably took place about 2500 B.C., when the earliest invasion of north-west India by the Turanian-speaking people occurred, the impact making itself felt all along the line of the route across northern India and down the Ganges, just as a railway-engine in shunting a long line of trucks will communicate its thrill to the last truck at the end of the line. Now the Polynesians followed them up slowly, very slowly (for, unlike the fierce driving out of the Dravidians by the "Polynesians," the Aryans pushed onwards by a slow yet steady process of moral suasion aided by overwhelming numbers), and reached Java and the gates of the Pacific not later than the fifth century B.C. ; *for had they stopped in India after about 450 B.C. they would have brought the rapidly-spreading Buddhist religion with them into the Pacific.* And they must have left Java not long after the beginning of the Christian era, because we know from Javan histories that the Hindus came down and expelled what they called the "Rakshasas," or demons, about this time ; and these must have been our Polynesians. Moreover, had they stayed later they would have brought the use of metals with them,

and the words of a Sanskrit vocabulary. Therefore the Melanesians must have been moving on into the Pacific in front of the Polynesians, but more quickly, at intervals during the two thousand years before the Christian era ; and by the time the Polynesians arrived there they would have been well settled, and have multiplied to big populations, in most of the islands. And through all the Polynesian mythology, legends, and traditions this is very evident. (As I have said before, the Melanesians left no traditional histories, because they probably did not follow patriarchal descent.) The first Polynesian explorers of the Cook Islands "found a black people already there," and an earlier god, Rongo, a dark god, a god of cruelty and human sacrifices. Kupé, the Polynesian navigator, on his second visit to New Zealand, long before the time of "the fleet," found a tribe of strangers there ". . . a thin people, with flat faces, furtive eyes, depressed noses, and wide nostrils."

But we have also evidence of their presence further to the east, for Quiros the Spanish leader, reported that when he visited the Marquesas in 1595 he found the natives preparing for an expedition "against a black people who lived to the south," probably Tahiti.

There was constant fighting between the virile, light-coloured Polynesians and these inferior "dark" people, *who were always being driven on to the east*, and the "long-ears" who were killed off at Easter Island twenty-seven generations ago were probably these same Melanesians. One of the most interesting references we have is that of Bilbao, who reported



MELANESIAN FROM MALAITA ISLAND, SOLOMON GROUP.

Note distended ears, receding forehead, and "hook" nose.

(Photo by permission of the Melanesian Society.)



A MAN OF OPA, NEW HEBRIDES.

Note bushy, "up-standing" hair and sunken orbits.

(Photo by Beattie; by permission of the Melanesian Society.)

that in 1503 he found, on the Pacific side of Panama “a dark, heavily-tatu’d people, with frizzy hair.” And who, one wonders, was it who took the custom of slit, distended ears, the “long ears,” to Peru?

At Raiatea Island, Hatonga, a Polynesian chief, discovered two sorts of inhabitants, a short people with little stiff curls, and a different tribe, “very dark, with up-standing hair, overhanging brows, and thin legs.” The former I imagine to have been a negrito tribe, and the latter a Melanesian one.

Judging from what we know of negrito peoples in other parts of the world one cannot think that they made much resistance to invasion, and it is not therefore surprising to find that even in quite early Polynesian legends they are referred to as something rare, almost monstrosities. Thus in a Hawaiian tradition of about A.D. 1100 there is a reference to a sailing to Tahiti and the bringing from there of “two dwarfs,” and other legends refer to “the little people.”

But the Menehuné, to whom reference is constantly made, were evidently quite well known to the early Polynesians, and are generally mentioned in connection with the big stone works. They built the great enclosures to make the “fish-ponds” at Hawaii, and it seems probable that the building of the big stone “fish-fences” carried on even to-day in Fiji is an art handed down from the Menehuné ancestors. And there seems no doubt that it was the same Menehuné people who built the stone causeways, and in fact all the “morticed” stone works, a people who left India before mortar came into common use; *in other words,*

that the "furtive-eyed black people" found by the Polynesians in all parts of the Pacific, the "Menehuné" (whose name, unlike the others, cannot be traced back beyond India) and the early Dravidians driven out from India, are one and the same people.



CAROLINE ISLANDER.
(Photo by Sir Everard im Thurn,
K.C.M.G.)



GILBERT ISLANDER.
(Photo by Sir C. H. Read in British Museum
(Natural History Handbook.)



ELLICE ISLANDER.
(Photo by permission of W.
Telfer Campbell, Esq.)

THREE TYPES OF "MICRONESIANS" (NOTE THE MONGOLIAN STRAIN).

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSIONS

HERE I must leave these Polynesians and Melanesians, both the "Children of the Sun," but of very different origins. I must confess that when I started this book I was influenced by the generally accepted idea that any traces of Sun-cult that the Melanesians had must have been received from the Polynesian immigrants, but the more I have gone into the subject the more I am convinced that both races were formerly worshippers of the Sun, even if with different rites, and that in both races may be found remains of the cult to this day.

I have written of these people as they existed and still exist in the Pacific. Of the great migrations to America it is not the province of this book to speak; suffice it to say that the most feasible theory is that worked out by Professor Elliot Smith, who considers that a very early race of people made their way, practically overland, from Asia via the Behring Straits, to people North America; and that there was, much later, a great movement across the Pacific by a race who filled Peru and Mexico.

There is a rather interesting South American legend, by the way, that is not generally known, of how, to

the coast of Ecuador, close to Peru, arrived from some unknown country over the sea the Cara people, about the end of the tenth century A.D., and how they overcame the Quitos, and introduced Sun-worship. They lasted for four and a half centuries till overthrown by the Peruvians, who may have been a mixture of a people who preceded them centuries before with a division of "the overland Behring Straits" migration.

That an early race *did* come across the Pacific to America and roam all over it, is also borne out by such little clues as the finding of a special Pacific shell, the "Cassis Cornutus," carefully treasured up in an ancient tumulus as far to the east as Cincinnati. But of the obvious Polynesian traces in Peru there seems to be no end. All through this book can be seen how similar types, names, legends, customs, and stone remains are constantly appearing in Peru; and a curious botanical corroboration of at least one legend is that—according to de Candolle, the great authority on the origins of plants—the Kumara, or sweet potato, had its starting place in South America. Now Maui, the hero-god of the Polynesians—who is thought to have been an early voyager—went on a long journey towards the rising sun, and discovered a far-off country called U-Peru, and from there he brought the sweet potato, known henceforward to the Polynesians as "Kumara." *And the ancient name in Peru for this is the Umar' or Kumar'.*

Strangely enough, O. F. Cook, working independently of this, came to the conclusion that the coco-nut was originally a native of South America, and that it only drifts for comparatively short distances before getting

water-logged or bad.¹ Consequently it must have been brought to the islands by the hand of man. And to some islands it seems to have been brought within historical, or at all events legendary, times; as at Pukapuka Island (Cook Group) and at Manahiki.

And I think that not only did Polynesians occasionally make their way to South America, and even found nations (we are dealing in centuries, one must remember, and a mere handful of people can in course of time multiply enormously in a fertile climate and without modern "machine-gun wars" to keep them down) but also, a much simpler matter, did expeditions sometimes sail before the prevailing east winds and, more by accident than purpose, strike the outlying islands of the Pacific. Had the South Americans been a nation of navigators, as the Polynesians were, it would have happened more frequently.

As for the question of "civilization," I have stated elsewhere that a confined island life is of necessity detrimental to progress, in fact is more likely to cause degeneration. That the Polynesians, an ancient sea-people, moved about is one great reason why they were able to keep "abreast of the times," as it were, while the Melanesians, more recently a "land" people from India, deteriorated in their now cramped spaces. But the people who had passed across the Pacific to become "Peruvians" had vast stretches of rich country to move about in, and their wits were also sharpened

¹ *United States National Herbarium*, vol. XIV, part 2. And I have found a reference in an old American book, *A Voyage to the South Seas*, by Captain Porter, 1813, to the effect that the Marquesans had an ancient legend that they received the coco-nut from some place called Otupu, far to the east of them.

by contact with other adjoining peoples, descendants perhaps of the "Behring Straits migrations." Consequently they progressed in civilization. Therefore, although I think that the conventional type of the images, and the big morticed stone structures, at Easter Island were distinctly suggestive of Melanesian work and probably built by those people, I still think that the ideas were too grand for such a people, and that there was possibly a guiding influence from the east, from Peru. Had the ideas been Melanesian solely, why do we not find similar remains, of similar grandeur, in any single island of "Melanesia"; and if the ideas had been Polynesian solely, why do we not find similar traces in Central Polynesia? Whereas we *do* find vestiges not unlike them in Peru.

I am inclined to think that all three influences combined to bring about these distinctive remains.¹

But, to sum up, any American influence in the Pacific can after all be merely regarded as a "backwash": the two great races there (apart from the aboriginal negrito) were the seafaring people from Mesopotamia, and the Melano-Indians from India, the white race and the black race of the ancient legends, the Sky-people and the Underworld-people, the wielders of the "tabu" and of witchcraft respectively.

THE FAIR PEOPLE

The former people have left us the dolmens, the trilithons, the burial vaults, and perhaps the pyra-

¹ There certainly seems to have been a strain of people there, not Polynesian, not Melanesian. Gonzalez found them "bearded, white, tall, and ruddy," and Roggevein noted their "aquiline noses."

mids; the latter (or probably the latter influenced by the former) the morticed stone causeways and pavements and heiaus. That section (the smaller one) of the "Sky-people" who came entirely by the sea-route brought the pearl-shell cult and held Burutu as their paradise. The other division of them who came by the Indian route regarded Avaiki as their home of the dead.

Both branches of "the fair people" brought in the old Semitic legends, stories which were ancient when the Semitic offshoot, the Hebrews, incorporated them in those "sacred books" which have become our Bible. I give here the Flood legend of the ancient Polynesians recited verse by verse by the old priests of the Marquesas before there could be any possible question of missionary influence. Fornander received it over fifty years ago from one of the first white men to live there permanently, a Mr. Lawson, who took an interest in collecting the legends of the natives; and at that time the natives were as their fathers were, and their priesthood was in full power. It is one of those vivid glimpses of the history of ancient races that are occasionally disclosed to us, and to my thinking it seems one of the most romantic pages of the story of man; a voice direct from the Flood.

. . . Lord Ocean is going
To pass over the whole dry land
A respite is granted
For seven days
Who would have thought to bury the great earth
In a roaring flood? E.

Ho, Ho, in the enclosure!
Ho, Ho, the twisted ropes

Here is confusion among
 The generations (different kinds) of animals
 Oh, we are the kind
 Oh, we are the kind
 Oh, we are reserved from the flood
 Reserved on the flood,
 The flood, the roaring. E.

And it will fall over the valleys
 Pass over the plains,
 It will bury the mountains,
 And envelop the hillsides,
 Oh, the flood, the roaring. E.
 Ho, in the enclosure.
 Ho, the twisted ropes,
 For to tie up in couples
 The (various) kinds of animals.
 The white kinds,
 The striped kinds,
 The spotted kinds,
 The black kinds,
 The horned kinds,
 The big lizard kinds,
 The small lizard kinds,
 Oh, the flood, the roaring. E.

High above the ocean
 Build a house upon it,
 A storied house, the house.
 A house with chambers, the house.
 A house with windows, the house.
 A very large house, the house.
 A house to keep alive
 The (various) kinds of animals.
 Oh, the flood, the roaring. E.

Ho, Ho, there in the enclosure.
 Ho, Ho, the long twisted ropes
 To tie up and make fast in couples
 The (various) kinds of animals
 One man before, O-Fetu-amu-amu,
 One man behind, O Ia-fetu-tini.
 The animals between, making great noise.
 Oh, the flood, the roaring. E.

Eh ; bear away (carry away) ; Here.
 Carry away the animals. Here.
 Carry them away to the sea. Here.
 Oh, the long deep wood (a name for the house
 or vessel).
 Here.
 O, the God of Destruction. Here.
 O, Hina-touti-ani. Here.
 O, Hina-te-ao-hini. Here.
 O, Hina-te-upu-motu. Here.
 O, Hina-te-ao-meha. Here.
 O, Fetu-moana. Here.
 O, Fetu-tau-ani. Here.
 O, Fetu-amu-amu. Here.
 O, Ia-fetu-tini. Here.
 Oh, the flood, the roaring. E.

A man before, with the offerings,
 O, Fetu-moana.
 A man behind, clinging to the offerings,
 O, Fetu-tau-ani.
 A turtle between, making great noise.
 Oh, the flood, the roaring. E.

Cut off, cut off your ear (deafen). This is a
 bad house
 For to cook food for the God. . . .
 The four-faced priests. . . .
 House fast asleep . . . God the Destroyer.
 Crash, crackle. A stinking crowd.
 Bring together, bring together
 All the heaven-fed animals.

Sleeps the sacred supporter in this noise:
 Noise, God, noise, with God arise !
 God wills it.
 Here is manifest the trouble (the storm)
 A trouble that is great and manifest,
 And it is roaring and it is working,
 A rain like a solid cloud.
 Bring together, bring together
 All the heaven-fed animals.
 Sleeps the sacred supporter.
 Shaken up and mixed up is the earth.

I consent, and let loose
 a confused noise
 make a buzzing noise,
 arise, arise,
 I will it thus.

II

Oh, the . . . new,
 Oh, the mountain ridges,
 Some . . . men
 Are arriving here,
 People in the storm
 A veil on the head
 A paddle in the hand
 E, arrivals, come and push back
 The ocean to the centre
 E, the house, E.
 Here I am aground.
 The Fetu-moana. E.
 Hearken up there
 The Lord Ocean consents
 That the dry land appears
 The Lord Ocean. E.
 Ah, quick . . . the new
 The . . . new. Here it is.
 In channels receding
 The Lord Ocean. E.
 Ah! Quick, the new . . .
 . . . long, and when I . . .
 I will offer seven sacred offerings
 And seven sucklings that shall cry
 To the Lord Ocean.

The Lord has assented that the earth
 Shall now be dry.
 E. The traveller,
 The traveller of Tana'oa (the bird)
 Over the sea of Havaii,
 Tana'oa, rest on the curling wave,
 Remain at the stern of the vessel.
 Strike, strike your legs, Tana'oa.
 Tana'oa, I will it thus.
 Tana'oa, why do you return?
 Returned is the North Wind with the . . .
 Not found is a place where to alight.

Tana'oa, I will it thus.
 Alight, Tana'oa, on the sands.
 Call Tana'oa here. . . .
 Do not go away.
 Strike, strike thy breast, Tana'oa.
 Tana'oa, Yes. I will it thus.

Eh, the traveller,
 The traveller of Moepo (a second bird)
 Over the sea of Havaii
 Thy bones stretch hither,
 Over the sea of Havaii.
 Ah, alight, alight here.
 Eh, the Lord Ocean. Eh.
 The four bowls, and the four bowls
 Are safely landed here.
 Great mountain ridges, ridges of Havaii,
 Great mountain ridges, ridges of Matahou,
 Whereon to tread and stamp.
 Ah, here is the Moepo
 Bringing aloft what has been gathered.

But the Semitic, that is, pre-Hebrew, influence is so evident through all the Polynesian people that it seems unnecessary to now question it. The "Adam and Eve" creation story, "The tower of Babel," and "Cain and Abel" are only a few of the traditions that must have come from the common ancestors of the Polynesians and the Hebrews. The customs and language derived from the same common ancestry are innumerable; I have mentioned only a few instances of the many I have noted. So much for the "fair people."

THE DARK PEOPLE

As for the Melano-Indians, it would seem that, in addition to other things, they brought in the Fire-cult; the "buried-sitting" idea; and, I think, the Secret Societies, and the Skull-cult.

They were, as I have already stated, the great upholders of human sacrifices, of the cult of Rongo. They were the labourers, the people by whose means the Polynesians were able to carry out the great buildings whose traces have been the cause of so much speculation and discussion in the past.

MIGRATIONS TO NEW ZEALAND

As to the New Zealand Maori, I cannot presume to add anything to the theories that have already been so ably put forward by Smith, Newman, Best, and others. I will merely suggest that in New Zealand the Indian element is so marked that I think the Maoris must have been nearly all derived from those Polynesians who came via India rather than by the "all sea" route. And further, that the migration was comparatively modern, that is, one of the last waves to leave Java and Indonesia before those islands became entirely "Indianized." We are even told of one legend in New Zealand about a certain Puta and a world upheaval, that is suspiciously reminiscent of Buddha; while Newman and Smith have given us pages and pages of pure Indian folk-lore and history in their account of the Maori race. And this "Indian" branch of the Polynesians, grafted upon the Melano-Indian people previously present in New Zealand, will account for the very Indian result.

FROM CHINA AND JAPAN

Another strain that has changed the type of one section of the Pacific natives, giving their slant

eyes to the "Micronesians," is the Chinese-Japanese. Although there has been no purposeful migration of a nation, as in the case of the Polynesian, there have undoubtedly been many drifts of odd vessels blown out of their course. The Chinese say they discovered America in A.D. 500, and called it Fusani, after a tree which grew there. (Which is oddly like the legend of the vikings and the *other* side of America.) In 1832 a Japanese junk thus drifted to Hawaii, with the crew in the last stages of exhaustion; and while I was in the Lau Islands a pearling ketch from Japan was wrecked there (though it is true that she had deliberately ventured in that direction, drawn by the same magnet that had lured on the Polynesians of old).

A grotesque travesty of an ancient Japanese warrior may sometimes still be seen in a Gilbert Islander arrayed for the fray in his sinnet suit of armour and octopus-skin helmet. Mr. Telfer Campbell, late Resident Commissioner of that Group, gave me a photograph of one still in use in his time. It is ingeniously made of thick, closely-woven coco-nut fibre, of the very cut and shape of the old Japanese fighting suits, with a high piece at the back for protection of the neck against the double-edged, sharks'-tooth-studded sword. Armour of somewhat the same pattern was used in Futuna Island, the Marshalls, and the Philippines.

The similar cults of the "tabu" and the king-priest, and the use of tappa and head-rests, are of course not attributable to influences *from* Japan, but rather to an ancient radiating-out, to both Japan and the Pacific Islands from one common source.

And this applies also to the language, in many words extraordinarily alike. I believe that "Taka aloha kia koe" in Japanese means "My love for you." And "Taku aloha kia koe" means the same thing in Polynesian.

THE MALAYS

With any modern, or comparatively modern, Mongolian intrusion into the Polynesian type should be classed also the Malay strain, an influence that was at one time considered so important that the whole Polynesian race was roundly declared to be "descended from the Malays"! But the theory was based almost entirely upon a language affinity, which, as I have already said, is but a slender reed to lean upon. The fact is that the Malays originated in Sumatra and the adjacent islands from a strong admixture of Indian and Chinese blood, with a little dilution from the few "Polynesians" still left there. And the many Polynesian words in the Malay language were picked up by the Malays from Sumatra where the words were still in vogue. But though the Polynesians did not therefore spring as a body from the Malays yet no doubt there were many stray excursions and odd expeditions of Malays into the Pacific, especially to the Carolines, Gilberts, and Papua. These people undoubtedly introduced the "toddy-drinking"—so maddening when fermented—a drink that fortunately has never become universal in the Pacific. In the old "cotton-planting days" some of the Line Islanders started to introduce it among the Fijians, but it was promptly stopped with a firm hand—one is glad to



TAKING UP THE VESSEL TO CATCH THE PALM-SAP FOR "TODDY."

(Photo by permission of W. Telfer Campbell, Esq.)

think that the common-sense of the chiefs had much to do with this ; nowadays the coco-nuts are so valuable that even an insouciant native hesitates to kill the goose that lays his " golden eggs," for the tapping of the crown is generally fatal to the palm-tree.

THE EUROPEAN

The gradual filtering in of the white man through the portals of the Pacific, slow at first but ever increasing in strength, does not concern the present book. The tale of how his influence has spread to the remotest wave-lapped atoll of that wide ocean is a romance in itself ; a story so fascinating to me that I have started to write it as a companion volume to this book, and which some day I hope to publish as *The History of British Influence in the Pacific*.

" Trade follows the Flag, the Flag precedes Trade," but trade is not the only thing to build an Empire. The history of British colonization in the Pacific will, I think, show that we cannot and do not take up the advantages of Empire without acknowledging our duties to the native ; and it is our duty to see that the native, who has come to look upon the British flag as synonymous with justice, shall never be disappointed in that belief, which shall be in the years to come the new heritage of these " Children of the Sun."



SUGGESTED TRACK OF THE "SEAFARERS" TO POLYNESIA.

APPENDIX

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND GROUPS OF THE PACIFIC

(The Principal Islands only are mentioned, and the nearest Latitude and Longitude indicated.)

MAIN DIVISIONS.

Melanesia, roughly all the islands west of 170° E.—which are south of the equator.

Micronesia, the Pelew, Marianne, Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert, and Ellice Groups.

Polynesia, all the remaining Groups ;

also

Indonesia, Malay Archipelago, or East Indies, consisting of Timor, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, Buro and Ceram.

Philippines.

Papua or New Guinea.

Admiralty Island (*see* Bismarcks).

Aneiteum Island (*see* New Hebrides).

Aurora Island (*see* New Hebrides).

Austral Group.

Raivaivai, 150° W. 23° S. (French).

Rurutu, discovered by Cook, 1769.

Tubuwai.

and Rapa Iti or Oparo, discovered by Vancouver, 1791.

Bismarck Group, 150° E. 4° S. (late German).

Admiralty, discovered by Schouten, 1616.

New Britain, discovered by Dampier, who thought he had found the lost Solomon Islands.

New Ireland, discovered by Schouten, 1616.

Caroline Group, 140° – 160° E. 7° N. (late German).

Yap.

Ponapé

Kusaie.

298 THE ISLANDERS OF THE PACIFIC

Cook Group, 160° W. 20° S. (British-New Zealand), discovered by Cook, 1774.

Aitutaki.

Atiu.

Hervey.

Mangaia.

Raratonga (headquarters of government).

Easter or **Rapa Nui** or **Waihu Island**, 1,400 miles east of Pitcairn Island, 2,000 miles from America; perhaps discovered by Davies, 1687; described by Roggeveen, 1721.

Efatu (*see* New Hebrides).

Ellice Group, 178° E. 7° S. (British).

Hudson or Nanumanga.

De Peyster or Nukufetau.

Ellice or Funafuti (scene of boring to prove coral-reef theory).

St. Augustine or Nanumea.

Erromanga (*see* New Hebrides).

Esperitu Santo (*see* New Hebrides).

Faka-ofu (*see* Union Group).

Fanning Island, 160° W. 4° N. (British) cable station here.

Fatuhiva (*see* Marquesas).

Fiji Islands, 176° E.-179° W. and 12°-21° S. (British), discovered by Tasman, 1643.

Viti Levu (on which is Suva, headquarters of government).

Vanua Levu.

Taveuni.

Kandavu.

Ovalau (on which is Levuka, old headquarters of government).

Yasawa Islands.

Lomaiviti Islands.

and Lau Islands (*see* separate entry).

Friendly Islands (*see* Tonga).

Futuna (*see* New Hebrides; also Horne Islands).

Gambier (*see* Paumotu).

Gaua (*see* New Hebrides).

Gente Hermosa (*see* Union Group).

Gilbert Islands or **Kingsmill Islands**, 170° – 180° E. and about the equator (British).

Nikunau or Byron.

Peru or Francis.

Ocean or Panapa (enormous phosphate deposits), headquarters of government. Discovered by Mertho of ship *Ocean*.

Nauru or Pleasant Island (late German) (phosphates also). Discovered by Fearn, 1798.

Guam (*see* Marianne Islands).

Hawaiian or **Sandwich Islands**, 155° – 160° W. 20° N. (American). Discovered by Cook, 1778.

Hawaii.

Oahu (on which is Honolulu, headquarters of government).

Molokai.

Maui.

Lanai.

Kauai.

Necker.

Hervey (*see* Cook Group).

Horne Islands or Futuna, 178° W. 4° S. (French).

Kermadec Islands, 180° E. 30° S. (British–New Zealand).

Ladrones (*see* Marianne).

Lau Islands 176° – 179° W. 17° – 21° S. (British, under Fiji).

Vanua Balavu.

Lakemba.

Matuku.

Moala.

Mango.

Thithia.

Naiau.

Lifu (*see* New Caledonia).

Loyalty (*see* New Caledonia).

Maewo (*see* New Hebrides).

Malekula (*see* New Hebrides).

Manahiki Islands, 150° – 160° W. 10° S. (British), discovered by Patrickson, 1822.

Humphrey.

Penrhyn.

Mangaia (*see* Cook Group).

Manua (*see* Samoa).

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Maré (*see* New Caledonia).

Marianne or **Ladrone Islands** (late German, previously Spanish),
145° W. 12°–20° N., discovered by Magellan, 1521.

Marquesas, 140° E. 10° S. (French).

Nukuhiva, discovered by Mendaña, 1595.

Washington, Jefferson, or Uahuga Island, discovered
by Mendaña, 1595.

Hivāoa or Dominica.

Fatuhiva or Magdalena.

Marshall Islands, 170° E. 7° N. (late German).

Mo'orea (*see* Society Group).

Mota (*see* New Hebrides).

Nauru (*see* Gilberts).

Navigator Islands (*see* Samoa).

New Britain (*see* Bismarcks).

New Caledonia, 165° E. 22° S. (French), discovered by Cook.
Convict Station. Nickel deposits. Attached to it
are :

Island of Pines.

and Loyalty Islands :

Lifu	} Discovered by Butler, 1800.
Maré	
Wea	

New Guinea (*see* Papua).

New Hebrides, 167° E. 15° S. (British and French), north part
discovered by Quiros, 1606, south part discovered
by Cook, 1773.

Espiritu Santo.

Maewo or Aurora.

Pentecost or Araga.

Lepers' Island or Omba.

Aneiteum.

Erromanga.

Efatu or Vaté.

Malekula.

Ambrym.

Torres Islands.

Tanna.

Wea or Futuna.

and Banks Islands :

Gaua or Santa Maria.

Vanua Lava.

Mota.

New Ireland (*see* Bismarcks).

Nikunau (*see* Gilberts).

Niue or Savage (*see* Tonga).

Ocean Island (*see* Gilberts).

Olosenga (*see* Union, also Samoa).

Ongtong Java (*see* Solomons).

Opara (*see* Austral Group).

Panapa (*see* Gilberts).

Papua or **New Guinea**, 130° – 150° W. 0° – 10° S. (British–Australia, Dutch and late German), discovered by Meneses, 1524.

also d'Entrecasteaux Islands.

Louisiades.

Trobriand.

Woodlark.

Paumotu Islands, or Low Archipelago, or Tuamotu, or Dangerous Islands (French), 130° – 150° W. 12° – 24° S. (pearling industry).

Fakarewa.

Actaeon.

Pukapuka.

Mangarewa and innumerable small islands.

Pelew Islands, 135° E. 8° N. (late German).

Penryhn (*see* Manahiki).

Pentecost (*see* New Hebrides).

Peru (*see* Gilberts).

Phoenix Group, 172° W. 5° S. (British).

Pitcairn, 130° W. 25° S. (British), discovered, 1769. Mutineers from *Bounty* settled here in 1790.

Pleasant (*see* Gilberts).

Ponapé (*see* Carolines).

Radack Islands, 171° E. 5° – 15° N.

Raivaivai (*see* Austral Group).

Rapa Iti (*see* Austral Group).

Rapa Nui (*see* Easter Island).

Raratonga (*see* Cook Islands).

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Samoa, or Navigator Islands, 173° W. 13° S. (British-New Zealand), discovered by Roggevein in 1722.

Savaii.

Upolu (on which is Apia, headquarters of government)

Tutuila (on which is Pangpango, an American station).

Manua.

Olosenga.

Savage Island (*see* Tonga).

Sandwich Islands (*see* Hawaiian).

Santa Maria (*see* New Hebrides).

Society Islands, 150° W. 17° S. (French), discovered by Quiros, 1606, named by Cook after the Royal Astronomical Society.

Tahiti (headquarters of government).

Mo'orea or Eimeo.

Huhine.

Borabora.

and Raiatea.

Solomon Islands, 155° – 163° E. 5° – 11° S. (British), discovered by Mendaña, 1567.

Bougainville.

Choiseul.

Ysabel.

Eddystone.

Florida.

New Georgia.

Malaita or Malanta.

Guadalcanar.

San Christoval.

Rennell.

Stewart.

Ulawa.

and Ongtong Java or Leueneua.

also the Santa Cruz Group, consisting of—

Duff Islands.

Vanikoro.

Tikopia.

Stewart Island (*see* Solomons).

Swain Island (*see* Union Group).

Tahiti (*see* Society Islands).

Tikopia (*see* Solomons).

Tinian (*see* Marianne).

Tokelau Islands (*see* Union Group).

Tonga or **Friendly Islands**, 170° – 176° W. 16° – 22° S. (under British influence), discovered by Tasman, 1643.
Tongatabu (on which Government headquarters).

Vavau.

Hapai.

Namuka.

and Savage Island.

Torres (*see* New Hebrides).

Trobriand (*see* Papua).

Tuamotu (*see* Paumotu).

Tubuwai (*see* Austral Group).

Tutuila (*see* Samoa).

Ulawa (*see* Solomons).

Union Group, 165° – 175° W. 9° – 12° S. (British).

Faka-ofu or Bowditch.

Nassau.

Gente Hermosa or Swain or Olosenga.

Upolu (*see* Samoa).

Vanikoro (*see* Solomons).

Vanua Balavu (*see* Lau).

Vanua Lava (*see* New Hebrides).

Vanua Levu (*see* Fiji).

Vaté (*see* New Hebrides).

Waihu (*see* Easter Island).

Washington Islands (*see* Marquesas).

Wea (*see* New Caledonia, also New Hebrides).

Woodlark Island (*see* Papua).

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